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A

HISTORY

OF

THE MAHRATTAS.

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BY

JAMES GRANT DUFF, Esq.

CAPTAIN IN THE FIRST, OR GRENADIER, REGIMENT OF BOMBAY NATIVE INFANTRY, AND LATE POLITICAL RESIDENT AT SATARA.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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A

HISTORY

OF

THE MAHRATTAS.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

TO

THE HONOURABLE

MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE,

GOVERNOR, &c. &c. OF BOMBAY,

IN TESTIMONY

OF RESPECT AND GRATITUDE,

OF ESTEEM FOR HIS PRIVATE, AND

OF ADMIRATION FOR HIS PUBLIC CHARACTER,

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS MOST OBEDIENT,

HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE want of a complete history of the rise, progress, and decline of our immediate predecessors in conquest, the Mahrattas, has been long felt by all persons conversant with the affairs of India; in so much, that it is very generally acknowledged, we cannot fully understand the means by which our own vast empire in that quarter was acquired, until this desideratum be supplied.

The difficulty of obtaining the requisite materials has hitherto deterred most of our countrymen from venturing on a subject where the indefatigable Orme has left his Fragments as a monument of his research, accompanied by an attestation of the labour which they cost him. The subsequent attempt of Mr. Scott Waring proved not only the difficulties of which Mr. Orme's experience had warned us, but, that at a period comparatively recent, those who had the best opportunities of collecting information respecting the Mahrattas, were still very deficient in a knowledge of their history. Circumstances placed me in situations which at once removed many of the obstacles which those

gentlemen encountered, and threw materials within my reach which had been previously inaccessible: nevertheless, the labour and the expense, requisite for completing these volumes, can only be appreciated by those who assisted me in the design, or who have been engaged in similar pursuits in India.

On the subversion of the government of the Peishwas the most important of their state papers, and of their public and secret correspondence, were made over to me by Mr. Elphinstone, when he was acting under the orders of the Marquis of Hastings as sole commissioner for the settlement of the conquered territory in the Deccan. Captain Henry Dundas Robertson, collector and magistrate of Poona, with Mr. Elphinstone's sanction, allowed confidential agents employed by me, to have access to the mass of papers which were found in the apartments of the Peishwa's palaces. The Mahratta revenue state accounts were examined and extracted for me by the late Lieutenant John Macleod when first assistant to Mr. Chaplin who succeeded Mr. Elphinstone as commissioner for the conquered territory. The records of the Satara government were under my own immediate charge, and many original papers of historical importance, the existence of which was unknown to the Peishwas, were confided to me by the Raja. Mr. Elphinstone, when governor of Bombay, gave me free access to the records of that government; I had read the whole both public

and secret up to 1795, and had extracted what formed many large volumes of matter relative to my subject, when Mr. Warden the chief secretary, who had from the first afforded every facility to my progress, lent me a compilation from the records, made by himself, which shortened my subsequent labours and afforded materials amply sufficient, as far as regarded English history, for the years that remained. Mr. Romer, political agent at Surat, not only read, and at his own expense extracted the whole of the records of the old Surat factory, but also sent me an important manuscript history in the Persian language which when referred to, as an authority, is acknowledged in its proper place. The viceroy of Goa most liberally furnished me with extracts from the records of the Portuguese government; and the Court of Directors allowed me to have partial access to those in the East India House for some particulars from the Bengal correspondence, and for authenticating a variety of facts, originally obtained from Mahratta authorities, but of which there is no trace in the secretary's office at Bombay. The gentlemen of the India house were on every occasion most obliging: the very old records, under Dr. Wilkins, which I could not have read without great trouble, were made perfectly easy by the intelligence and kindness of Mr. Armstrong, one of the gentlemen in the office of Mr. Platt.

In regard to native authorities, besides the important papers already mentioned, records of tem-

ples and private repositories were searched at my request; family legends, imperial and royal deeds, public and private correspondence, and state papers in possession of the dscendants of men once high in authority; law suits and law decisions; and manuscripts of every description in Persian and Mahratta, which had any reference to my subject, were procured from all quarters, cost what they might. Upwards of one hundred of these manuscripts, some of them histories at least as voluminous as my whole work, were translated purposely for it. My intimate personal acquaintance with many of the Mahratta chiefs, and with several of the great Bramin families in the country, some of the members of which were actors in the events which I have attempted to record, afforded advantages which few Europeans could have enjoyed, especially as a great deal of the information was obtained during the last revolution in Maharashtra, when numerous old papers, which at any other period would not have been so readily produced, were brought forward for the purpose of substantiating just claims, or setting up unfounded pretensions. Latterly, however, I have to acknowledge many instances of disinterested liberality both from Bramins and Mahrattas, who of their own accord presented me with many valuable documents, and frequently communicated their opinions with much kindness and candour.

Next to Mr. Elphinstone, to whom I am indebted, not only for the situation which procured me most

of these advantages, but for an encouragement, without which I might never have ventured to prosecute this work, I am chiefly obliged to my friends, Captain Henry Adams, revenue-surveyor to the Raja of Satara, and Mr. William Richard Morris of the Bombay civil service, then acting as my first assistant. These gentlemen translated many hundreds of deeds and letters, numerous treaties, several voluminous histories; and, for years together, were ever ready, at all hours after the transaction of public business, to give up their time in furtherance of my object. Captain Adams is the compiler, in many parts the surveyor of the Map of Maharashtra, which accompanies these volumes. I regret the necessity for its reduction, from a scale of six inches to a degree to that of its present comparatively incomplete size; still, however, the situations and distances of the places laid down, will, I believe, be found more correct than those of any map of that country hitherto published; and I am equally bound to acknowledge my obligations for the information I obtained, as if it had been offered to the public in its more perfect form. The original materials for Captain Adams's map, were procured from his own surveys, from those of the late Captain Challen of Bombay, and of the late Captain Garling of Madras; which last were sent to me by Lieutenant Frederick Burr of the Nizam's service, filled up in many places from his own routes. Captain James Cruickshank, revenue-surveyor in Guzerat, with

permission from the Bombay government, furnished me with such information as the records of the office of the late surveyor-general Reynolds afford, and with Sir John Malcolm's map of Malwa, which, although then unpublished, that officer readily allowed me to use. Finally, the Court of Directors granted me permission to publish the information thus collected.

There were several drawings, and some likenesses of natives, by European artists, procured for the purpose of accompanying the history. Two of the drawings from the ruins of Beejapoor, by Lieutenant W. W. Dowell, of the Bombay establishment, the same gentleman to whom I am indebted for the frontispiece to volume 1st, were executed with admirable fidelity and precision, and would have been highly ornamental, if not illustrative; but as it was found that such minute engravings must have added greatly to the expense of the publication, which it was of importance to render moderate, I have been obliged to omit them.

A great part of this work was written in India; and as the chapters were prepared, I submitted them to all those gentlemen on the spot, who, from their situations or pursuits, seemed most likely to be able to corroborate facts, or to correct errors. It would be too long a list, nor can it be expected that I should enumerate all those who were so kind as to read portions of the manuscript, both in India and in England; but my thanks are due to Mr. William Erskine, of Edinburgh; to Lieutenant-Colonels Shuldham and Vans Kennedy, of Bom-

bay; to Sir James Mackintosh; to Mr. Mill; to Mr. Jenkins; to Lieutenant-Colonel Briggs; and to Lieutenant John MacLeod, whose premature fate, in being cut off by a fever, at Bushire, where he had been appointed political resident, may be justly regarded as a loss to his country.

I have thus endeavoured to express my acknowledgments to all who favoured me with their advice or opinion, or who, in the slightest degree, assisted or contributed to these volumes: my particular obligations are commonly repeated in notes, where each subject is mentioned; but if I have omitted, in any one instance, to express what is justly due either to European or to Native, I can only say, the omission is not intentional, and proceeds from no desire to appropriate to myself one iota of merit to which another can fairly lay claim.

I am very sensible that I appear before the public under great disadvantages, as, indeed, every one must do, who having quitted school at sixteen, has been constantly occupied nearly nine-tenths of the next twenty-one years of his life in the most active duties of the civil or military services of India; for, however well such a life may fit us for acquiring some kinds of information, it is in other respects ill-calculated for preparing us for the task of historians; yet unless some of the members of our service undertake such works, whence are the materials for the future historian to be derived, or how is England to become acquainted with India? Whilst I solicit indulgence, however,

to such defects as arise from this cause, it is also due to myself to apprize the reader, that independent of want of skill in the author, there are difficulties incidental to the present subject, besides harsh names and intricate details, with which even a proficient in the art of writing must have been embarrassed. The rise of the Mahrattas was chiefly attributable to the confusion of other states, and it was generally an object of their policy to render every thing as intricate as possible, and to destroy records of rightful possession. As their armies overran the country, their history becomes blended with that of every other state in India, and may seem to partake of the disorder which they spread. As the only method, therefore, of preserving regularity, I have sometimes been obliged, when the confusion becomes extreme, rather to observe the chronological series of events than to follow out the connection of the subjects; a mode which will appear in some parts, especially of the first volume, to partake more of the form of annals than I could have wished; but persons who are better judges of composition than I pretend to be, found, upon examination, that the remedy might have obliged me either to generalize too much, or, what would have been still worse, to amplify unnecessarily. I have also afforded some explanations for the benefit of European readers, which those of India may deem superfluous; and on the other hand I have mentioned some names and circumstances, which I am certain, will hereafter prove useful to persons in

the Mahratta country, but which others may think might have been advantageously omitted.

There being differences of opinion as to whether the writer of history should always draw his own conclusions, or leave the reader to reflect for himself, I may expect censure or approbation according to the taste of parties. I have never spared my sentiments when it became my duty to offer them; but I have certainly rather endeavoured to supply facts than to obtrude my own commentaries; and though I am well aware that, to gain confidence with the one half of the world, one has only to assume it, I trust that I shall not have the less credit with the other for frankly acknowledging a distrust in myself.

It will also be apparent, that though I have spared no pains to verify my facts, I have seldom thought it necessary to contradict previous misstatements; for so many inaccuracies have been published on many points of Mahratta history, that it seemed far better simply to refer to my authorities, where strong and undeniable, than to enter on a field of endless controversy. At the same time I have endeavoured to give every opinion its due consideration; and, wherever it seemed of importance to state conflicting sentiments, I have not failed to lay them candidly before the reader, that he might rather exercise his own judgment than trust implicitly to mine. Still, however, in such a work many errors must exist: of these, I can only say, I shall feel obliged to any person who, after due consideration and

inquiry, will have the goodness, publicly or privately, to point them out.

In regard to orthography, where Indian names have already become familiar to the English reader, I have seldom altered their usual spelling, however unlike the manner in which they are pronounced by the natives;* but in other instances I have, with some exceptions, nearly followed the system of Dr. Gilchrist: thus,

A, - as in Hall.	N, - as in Not.
B, Bh, - Bud, Abhor.	O, oo, - Hole, Cool.
C, Ch, - Cart, Church.	P, Ph, - Put, Loophole.
D, Dh, - Dad, Adhere.	Q, - - Liquor.
E, Ee, - There, Been.	R, - - Ram.
F, - - Fill.	S, Sh, - Sin, Sheen.
G, Gh, - Gun, Doghole.	T, Th, - Tent, Nuthook.
H, - - How.	U, - - But.
I, - Sin.	V, - Vend.
J, - - Judge.	W, - - Were.
K, Kh, - King, Milkhouse.	Y, - Youth.
L, - Lamb.	Z, - - Zany.
M, - - Man.	

N. B. ao, ou, and *ow,* are all to be sounded like *ou* in house.

London, May 30, 1826.

* The instances which immediately occur to me, where I have deviated, from this rule, are *outar,* an incarnation, for what is more generally written *avatar; wukeel* for *vakeel; Bhonslay,* the *n* sounded like the French *n* in *son,* for *Bhosla,* or *Bouncello;* and Toongbuddra for Tumbooddra. Toongbuddra is correctly written, because I have occasion to mention the Toong distinct from the Buddra, and my ear had become so accustomed to the other words, that I wrote them as I was in the daily habit of hearing them pronounced, without being able to avoid doing so.

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English at Bombay. — Aurungzebe's operations. — Salheir is surrendered. — Sultan Mauzum is sent to attack Sumbhajee in the Concan. — Imposition of the Jizeea — reflections. — Death of Dilere Khan. — Aurungzebe arrives at Ahmednugur — description of his camp. — Operations of Sultan Mauzum. Humbeer Rao and Khan Jehan. — Distress of Sultan Mauzum's army — returns extremely reduced — operations. — Mahrattas plunder Baroach, and proclaim Mohummud Akber emperor. — Operations against Beejapoor and Golcondah. — Murder of Mahdhuna Punt. — Truce with Golcondah. — Siege and capture of Beejapoor — description of the present state of its ruins. — Fall of Golcondah. — Arrangements in the conquered districts. — Mode in which the Moghuls took possession of, and regulated a district. — Operations of the Mahrattas. — Humbeer Rao defeats Shirzee Khan, but falls in the battle. — Operations in the Carnatic. — Profligacy and imbecility of Sumbhajee. — Sultan Mohummud Akber quits him in disgust. — Remarkable consequences of the laxity of discipline in Sumbhajee's army. — State of the Hindoo population in Maharashtra.—Impolicy of Aurungzebe. — Remarks on the state of the country, extending, by anticipation, to a period of twelve years after the subversion of the Deccan kingdoms. — Operations of the emperor. — Piracies of the English. — Sumbhajee surprised and made prisoner, together with his minister — behaviour — execution. — Summary of his character. - - - Page 304

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Maharashtra. — Raja Ram ascends the throne. — Zoolfikar Khan sent against Ginjee. — Siege delayed. — Aspect of affairs in the Deccan. — Proceedings of Ramchundur Punt. — Origin of Ghos-dana. — Rajgurh and Panalla retaken. — Proceedings of Suntajee and Dhunnajee—and of Aurungzebe. — Ginjee invested. — Supercession of Zoolfikar Khan, by the arrival of Kaum Bukhsh. — Jealousies to which it gives rise. — Aurungzebe fixes his principal cantonment at Brimhapoore. — Portuguese and English. — Suntajee and Dhunnajee repair to the Carnatic—attack the Moghuls with great success. —a truce — dissolved by the Emperor. — Siege of Ginjee renewed. — Kassim Khan, with several other officers, compelled by Suntajee to surrender, together with their troops. Himmut Khan defeated and slain. — Siege of Ginjee pressed. — Raja Ram is permitted to escape. — Ginjee taken. — Dissensions amongst the Mahrattas, which increase in consequence of the death of the Pritee Needhee. — A sedition obliges Suntajee Ghorepuray to flee from his own troops. — Satara becomes the seat of the Mahratta government. — Changes and promotions. — Kanhojee Angria, on the death of Seedojee Goojur, succeeds to the command of the fleet. — Suntajee Ghorepuray basely murdered by Nagojee Manay. — Raja Ram takes the field with a very large army—plunders the country, and imposes the Chouth in Candeish, Gung-thuree, and Berar, leaving officers to collect it. — Zoolfikar Khan recalled from the Carnatic. — New plan of operations — a pursuing and a besieging force. — Zoolfikar Khan attacks and pursues Raja Ram. — Emperor takes Wussuntgurh — invests Satara — description of its defences — its siege and surrender. — Capture of Purlee. — Distress of the Moghul army, in consequence of the setting in of the monsoon. — Death and character of Raja Ram — his widow Tara Bye assumes the regency. — Pureshram Trimbuck appointed Pritee Needee. — Mahrattas under Dhunnajee Jadow, and minor chiefs. — Description of a body of Mahratta plunderers, contrasted with the splendour of a Moghul camp. — great devastations. — State of the Moghuls. — Aurungzebe perseveres in his plan of reducing the forts. — General devastation and confusion. — Weakness of the Moghuls. — Power of the Mahrattas — its nature. — State of feeling in the country. — Moghuls make overtures

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motions — congratulations. — Conduct of the new administration — important changes at the Mahratta court. — Deaths of Pureshram Trimbuck, Ballajee Wishwanath and Khundee Rao Dhabaray — elevation of Sreeput Rao and of Bajee Rao. — Death of Dummajee Gaekwar, ancestor of the reigning family at Baroda. — Negotiations with Nizam Ool Moolk — his views and policy — is appointed vizier of the empire, and proceeds to Delhi. — Courtiers conspire against him. — Hyder Koolee Khan, governor of Guzerat, incited to rebellion — quelled by Nizam Ool Moolk, who appoints his uncle Hamed Khan, governor at Ahmedabad, and returns to Delhi — is appointed Wukeel-i-Mootluq — withdraws from court, and returns towards the Deccan. — Proceedings of Bajee Rao. — Origin of Holkar and Sindia. — Proceedings of Oodajee Powar. — Character of Bajee Rao — views directed towards Malwa — opposed by Sreeput Rao — discussions. — Commanding eloquence of Bajee Rao. — Nizam Ool Moolk, on his return to the Deccan, is opposed by Mubariz Khan.—Battle of Shukurkhera.—Appointment of Raja Geerdhur Buhadur as governor of Malwa, and of Sur Boolund Khan as governor of Guzerat — the deputy of the latter is defeated by the uncle of Nizam Ool Moolk, assisted by Kantajee Kudum Bhanday. — Roostum Ally, governor of Surat, betrayed by Peelajee Gaekwar — is also defeated. — Hamed Khan grants the Chouth to Kantajee and Peelajee — they quarrel in collecting it — on which the Chouth of Guzerat, west of the Myhie, is assigned to Kantajee, and that of the country east of it to Peelajee. — Sur Boolund Khan marches for Ahmedabad. — Battle at the Shah-i-bagh — distracted state of Guzerat. — Bajee Rao's incursions into Malwa.—Notice of an expedition to the Carnatic. Page 463

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abad. — The agreement disapproved of by the Peishwa, — Nizam Ool Moolk prosecutes his plans, by endeavouring to revive the feud between Shao and Sumbhajee — frustrated by the Peishwa — war. — Able conduct of Bajee Rao — forces Nizam Ool Moolk into terms. — Negotiations with Sur Boolland Khan. — Bajee Rao obtains grants of the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee for Guzerat. — Proceedings of Sumbhajee, Raja of Kolapoor — he is defeated by the Pritee Needhee. — Treaty between the Mahrattas of Satara and Kolapoor. — War between the Peishwa and the Senaputtee. — Battle of Dhuboy — Bajee Rao victorious, and Dhabaray slain. — Nizam Ool Moolk diverts the Peishwa's attack from his own, to the imperial territories. — Agreement between the Peishwa and the Senaputtee relative to Guzerat. — Abhee Sing, Raja of Joudpoor, appointed to supersede Sur Boolund Khan. — Policy of Nizam Ool Moolk. — Bajee Rao proceeds to Malwa. — War in Guzerat, between Peelajee Gaekwar and Abhee Sing — the latter sends emissaries on pretence of negociating — Peelajee is assassinated. — The Peishwa is called to the assistance of the Raja Chitoor Sal, in Bundelcund — forces Mohummud Khan Bungush into a fort. — Bundelqund evacuated by the Moghuls. — Territory granted to Bajee Rao as a reward. — Raja Jey Sing appointed governor of Malwa — concludes an agreement with Bajee Rao, and concedes the government to him. - - Page 495

CHAPTER XV.

FROM A. D. 1734, TO A. D. 1739.

[ahratta affairs.—Rughoojee Bhonslay is appointed Sena Sahib Soobeh. — Affairs of the Concan — of Sawunt — Angria. — Unsuccessful compaigns of the Pritee Needhee against the Seedee. — Revolution at Jinjeera. — Peishwa returns from Malwa — proceedings. — Arrangements made in the Concan. — Mulharjee Holkar's incursions — policy of the vizier Khan Dowran. — Nizam Ool Moolk courted by the Emperor. — Muziffir Khan marches against the Mahrattas. — Holkar's conduct towards him. — Holkar continues levying contributions — makes an incursion into Guzerat. — Momin Khan

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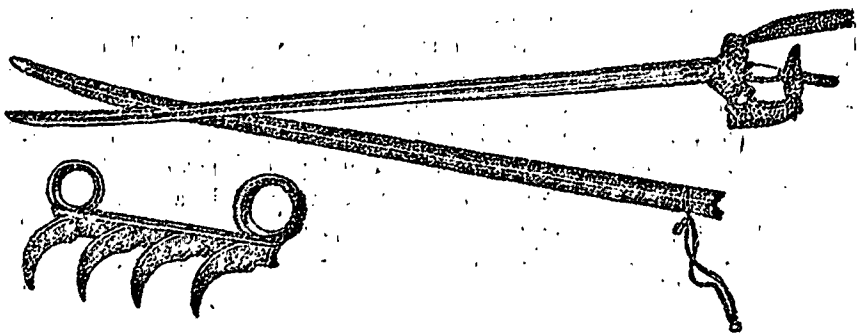
FROM A. D. 1739, TO A. D. 1740.

The government of Malwa not formally conceded to Bajee Rao as promised by Nizam Ool Moolk. — The Peishwa's arrangements in Malwa and Bundelcund, previous to attempting the conquest of the Deccan. — Motives which deterred and prompted the Peishwa. —Rughoojee Bhonslay is induced to undertake an expedition into the Carnatic. — The Peishwa attacks Nasir Jung— plans frustrated at the outset — departs for Hindoostan. — Chimnajee Appa recalled into the Concan to support Ballajee Bajee Rao. — Operations against Sumbhajee Angria — interrupted by intelligence of the death of Bajee Rao. — Brief retrospect of the rise and progress of the Mahrattas.—state of the Moghul empire, and of the powers in India. — Imperial court. — Nabob of Oude. — Rajpoots. —

Origin of the Jhats — of Aliverdy Khan — of the Rohillas. — State of the Deccan and Carnatic. — Nabobs of Arcot — Kurnoul — Kurpa — and Savanoor. — Tanjore — English — French and Portuguese. — Raja of Soonda. — Dessaye of Carwar — Mysore. — Artificial revenue system of the Mahrattas — Remarks on. — Character of Bajee Rao — His sons Ballajee Bajee Rao — Rugonath Rao — Jenardin Bawa, and Shumsher Buhadur. Page 551



NOTE.

The above is a representation of Bhowanee, the famous Sword of Sivajee; and of a Wagnuck, the instrument with which he murdered the General of the Beejapoor army.

The Vignette at the top of the Index at the end of Vol. 3. represents the Sikka Kutar, or grand state seal of the Mahratta Empire: both the sword and seal were taken from the originals at Satara.

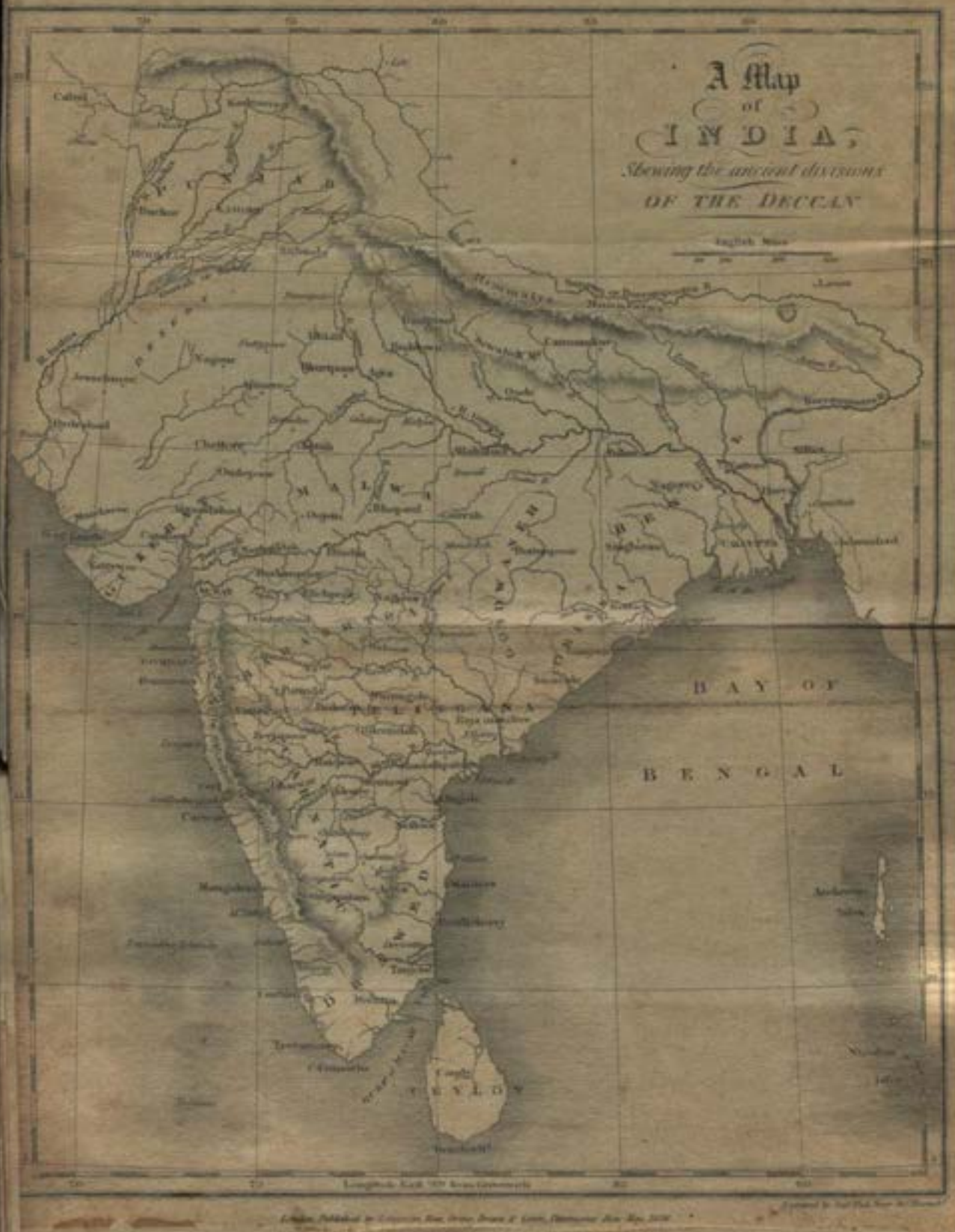
Drawn by Lieut. W.M. Powell Bombay Arty.

Engraved by Edwd. Finden.

MAUSOLEUM OF IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH,

AT BEEJAPOOR.

London, Published by Longman & Co. 1826


A Map
of
INDIA,
Shewing the ancient divisions
OF THE DECCAN
BAY OF
BENGAL
CEYLON

A

HISTORY

OF

THE MAHRATTAS.

Preliminary Observations respecting the Geography, Chief Features, Climate, People, Religion, Learning, Early History, and Institutions of the Mahratta Country.

According to Hindoo geographers, the Deccan, or country south of the Nerbuddah, and Mahanuddee rivers, consists of a considerable number of parts; but there are five principal divisions, named Drawed, Carnatic, Andur, or Telingana, Gondwaneh*, and Maharashtra. All well informed Hindoos talk familiarly of these divisions, but they disagree materially as to their extent. Colonel Wilks, in the absence of more direct evidence, has adopted the best practical rule of ascertaining their boundaries, by tracing them according to the space over which each particular language is now spoken.

The portion termed Drawed extends from Cape Comorin to the north of Madras: in this tract the

* The mountainous tract called Gondwaneh is inhabited by a savage race of people, who, as they are not Hindoos, are supposed never to have been conquered.

Tamul* is the vernacular tongue. The ancient Carnatic, is comprehended in the great table land between Malabar and the coast now known by the name of Coromandel: the Ghauts, or chain of hills on both sides, form its boundary to the east and west; but it extends in an angle between Telingana and Maharashtra, as far north as the Manjera river; from which point it forms the western boundary of the former, and the south-eastern boundary of the latter. Telingana, commencing southwards about Pulicat, or the northern extremity of Drawed, extends to Sicacole in Orissa; which last, together with Gondwaneh, occupies the space between Telingana and the Mahanuddee. The fifth division, which forms the western boundary of Gondwaneh and Telingana, it will be necessary to define with more precision.

Maharashtra is the native country of the people whose history it is now proposed to trace. Different limits are assigned to this great portion of the Deccan. According to the *Tutwa*, one of the books of the *Jotush Shaster*, or Hindoo Astronomy, Maharashtra extends no farther than the Chandore range of hills, where Kolwun, Buglana, and Candeish are represented as its northern boundary, and all beyond those countries is indiscriminately termed *Vendhiadree*.

The tract between Chandore and Eroor Manjera,

* Malabar, Toolava, and Gohurasht, three divisions of the Malabar coast, though not expressly comprised in the limits of Drawed and Carnatic, are, from the similarity of their languages, considered as attached to these divisions respectively; viz. Malabar or Kerala to Drawed, and Toolava and Gohurasht to Carnatic.

on the Kistna, is certainly the most decidedly Mahratta, and in it there is the least variation in the language; but following the rule adverted to, in its more extended sense, Maharashtra is that space which is bounded on the north by the Sautpoora mountains* ; and extends from Naundode on the west, along those mountains, to the Wyne Gunga, east of Nagpoor. The western bank of that river forms a part of the eastern boundary until it falls into the Wurda. From the junction of these rivers, it may be traced up the east bank of the Wurda to Manikdroog, and thence westward to Mahoor. From this last place a waving line may be extended to Goa, whilst on the west it is bounded by the ocean.

The Mahratta language prevails throughout this great tract of country; but in a space so extensive, there are, of course, various dialects of it, with a mixture of other tongues towards the verge of the boundaries; and there is a small space about Surat, Baroach, and Rajpeeplee, where the Guzerattee is spoken, but which may be excluded, by an imaginary line drawn from Damaun to the middle of the Naundode district, or western point of the Sautpoora range, whence this definition of Maharashtra commences. The whole tract comprehends a surface of upwards of 102,000 square miles, and its present population, estimated principally from the returns of the collectors in the territory, lately conquered by the British govern-

* The Sautpoora is properly, I am informed by Major Tod, the range adjoining the Vendhia mountains to the south, but the Mahrattas term the whole *Sautpoora*.

ment, is about six millions, or at the average rate of fifty-nine souls to the square mile.

Maharashtra, from its still retaining a distinct language, from its giving name to a class of Bramins, and the general appellation of Mahrattas to its inhabitants, was, perhaps, at some very distant period, under one Raja or Hindoo prince. There is, however, no direct evidence to support this conjecture; nor is there any ancient history in the country, excepting the fabulous legends called Poorans, which relate to the actions of gods and men, and which, though probably founded on historical truth, are yet so involved in mythological obscurity, that no research is ever likely to reconcile them with real events.*

* One of these Poorans, which recounts the exploits of Pureshram in his war with the Kshittrees, mentions, that at the close of it, having extirpated the Kshittrees and oppressive Rajas, and conferred the conquered territory on the Bramins, they did not choose that he should reside amongst them, which induced Pureshram to repair to the western coast of the Deccan, and to petition the sea for a place of residence. This request, however, was not willingly acceded to; but Pureshram bent his bow, and let fly an arrow from the top of the great western mountains, at which the ocean was intimidated, and receding before it to the point at which it fell, left dry the extensive tract of country now known by the name of the Concan and Malabar coast. In this space different languages are spoken, and Hindoo geographers divide it into seven parts, viz. 1. Kerala, 2. Toolava, 3. Gohurasht, 4. Concan, or Kumpun, 5. Kurar, 6. Wurar, and 7. Burbur; these are supposed to extend from the Paniany river, to Mount Dilly, Dureca Bhadurghur, Sewdasheogurh, or Cape Ramas, Deogurh, Bencoote, Bassein, and the Taptee river respectively. The three first, as mentioned in a preceding note, are attached to Drawed and Carnatic; the four last are now, by the natives, indiscriminately included in the lower Concan, or Concan below

The Concan is that part of Maharashtra which lies between the Ghauts * and the sea, and extends along the coast, from Sewdasheogurh to the Taptee. Although so far below the great chain of mountains stretching along parallel with the western coast of India, it must not be considered a flat country; on the contrary, the Concan is in most parts remarkably rugged and broken, interspersed with huge mountains and thick jungles, intersected by rivers and numberless rivulets; rocky and clear, until they descend on the level, where they are affected by the tide, when they are very deep and muddy. The roads are generally stony footpaths, and become more inaccessible as they approach the Syhadree mountains, which, except in places rendered more practicable by the British government, can only be ascended by narrow paths and defiles, sometimes so precipitous that a led horse

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the Ghauts. When the Concan simply is mentioned in this work, it is to be understood, as it is generally considered by Europeans, to extend from the sea to the line at which the Ghauts run into the lower country. When Concan-Ghaut-Mahta is specified, it is applicable to a particular tract of mountainous country hereafter described.

* *Ghaut* literally means a break, but in the common acceptation, it signifies a pass over any range of hills, and is thus applied to designate the hills themselves. When Ghauts are mentioned in this or any Indian history, the reader must bear in mind what Ghauts, or rather what particular range of hills are alluded to; the Ghauts, however, especially on the Bombay side, are the distinguishing appellation of that immense chain of hills, which extends along the whole western coast of India, and is now more correctly termed the Syhadree (corruptly Shyadree) mountains. Ghaut also is sometimes applied to a ford, or the landing-place on the bank of a river, a sense in which we shall never have occasion to use it.

can with difficulty keep his footing. When ascending, and on gaining the summit of any of these passes, especially to the southward of Poona, the scenery which every where presents itself is of the grandest kind. Some idea of it may be formed by imagining mountains succeeding mountains, three or four thousand feet high, covered with trees, except in places where the huge, black, barren rocks are so solid as to prevent the hardiest shrub from finding root in their clefts. The verdure about the Ghauts to the southward of Poona is perpetual, but during the rainy season, especially towards the latter part of it, when the torrents are pouring from the sides of the mountains, the effect is greatly heightened by the extreme luxuriance of vegetation; whilst gleams of sunshine, reflected from the breaking masses of clouds, give a thousand evanescent tints to every hill they light upon. Tempests and thunder storms, both at the commencement and close of the south-west monsoon, are very frequent, and in that region, these awful phenomena of nature are, in a tenfold degree, tremendous and sublime.

Notwithstanding the roughness of feature which characterizes the Concan, it is in many parts remarkably fertile. Its breadth, from the sea to the summit of the Syhadree range, is of unequal extent, varying from twenty-five to fifty miles. The top, or table land, which is, in many places, very extensive, forms part of what the natives call Concan-Ghaut-Mahta, or Concan on the top, to distinguish it from Thul-Concan, or Concan below the Ghauts. The highest part of the ridge is that which immediately faces the Concan, and the summit is gene-

rally from one to two thousand feet above the table land. The breadth of the Concan-Ghaut-Mahta is about twenty or twenty-five miles, and comprehends all the mountainous tract on the upper or eastern side, including the vallies that lie between the smaller branches of hills. The Mahrattas, in short, reckon the Concan-Ghaut-Mahta, from the point at which these branches terminate in the plain on the eastern side, to the summit of the ridge facing the Concan.

The Concan-Ghaut-Mahta, from Joonere to Kolapoor, is divided into the Mawuls, the Khoras, and the Mooras: these are names used by the natives, both for parts of the table land and the vallies. The whole tract is populous, and the vallies are now well cultivated. The inhabitants are remarkable for their simple, inoffensive demeanour, but they are hardy and patient, and, as the well known Mawulees of Sivajee, we shall find them led on to active and daring enterprise. North of Joonere these vallies are not so well cultivated, and the inhabitants are for the most part Bheels and Koolees, predatory tribes, who, in their wildest state, subsist by hunting and plundering. The Mawuls, Khoras, and indeed the whole of the Ghaut-Mahta, is infested by wild beasts, particularly the royal tiger, which is here found very fierce and destructive.

In the Ghauts, and along the hills alluded to, both above and below the great range, the summits are frequently crowned, or girded towards the top, by large massy basaltic rocks. These, with little aid from art, are capable of being formed into fortresses, which, independent of the extreme diffi-

culty of approach, often seem in themselves impregnable. In many of them there are springs of the finest water, and in all a supply can be secured in tanks, or reservoirs, during the periodical rains from May to October. Throughout that period of the year it is scarcely possible for troops to act in the Ghaut-Mahta; as, superadded to the steep, rugged, rocky hills, and the deep, winding dells, covered like the mountains by high trees, or tangled with low impervious brush-wood, there is almost perpetual rain; most of the rivulets are then frequently swollen into impassable torrents, and there is a chilling damp in the forests, exceedingly insalubrious to persons not inured to its influence; in short, in a military point of view, there is probably no stronger country in the world.

The Ghaut-Mahta is succeeded by the open country, or Desh, which generally becomes more and more level to the eastward; but there are four great ranges of hills, running west and east, extending far beyond the ordinary branches of the Syhadree mountains. In succession to the Sautpoora or northern boundary of Maharashtra, there are, the great chain, commonly called the Chandore range, extending from Rhoura to the heart of Berar; the Ahmednugur hills from Joonere to Bheer; the range immediately to the southward of Poona; and the Mahdeo hills to the north of Satara. *

* I have had no opportunity of ascertaining, but the Chandore hills are probably the highest above the level of the sea: there is a very perceptible fall in the country from Chandore to the Taptee, and from the Mahdeo hills to the Warna and Kistna.

The general aspect of Mahrashtra is hilly, the vallies are well watered, and the climate is perhaps the most salubrious in India; but in regard to cultivation, soil, and products, it is inferior to most other parts of that fertile region.

The principal rivers are the Nerbuddah, the Taptee, the Godavery, the Beema, and the Kistna. For some distance along the banks of these rivers the soil is in general excellent, and the crops raised cannot be exceeded in plenty and luxuriance. The banks of the Godavery, or Gunga as it is termed by the Mahrattas, the Beema and its tributary streams, the Neera and the Maun, are all celebrated for their breed of horses*, particularly the two last, which, though small, are accounted the best and the hardiest that are reared in the Deccan.

The mass of the population, in the country thus briefly described, are Hindoos, who, by the ordinances of their sacred writings, are divided into the four well known casts of Bramin, Kshittree, Weysh, and Shooder; but all these classes, though nominally preserved, are degenerated, extinct, or greatly subdivided.

* These are distinguished by the name of the place where they have been reared; Gung-thuree, Bheem-thuree, Neer-thuree, and Maun Desh. *Thuree* means the dale or *strath* in the neighbourhood of a river, and the appellations here mentioned are used by the Mahrattas in speaking of these countries, in preference to any other name by which subdivisions of the country were marked by Mahomedans. Berar is likewise celebrated for the hardiness, but not for the beauty of its horses.

The Bramins * are the priesthood, whose lives ought to be spent in worshipping and contemplating the Divinity, and teaching, by precept and example, what is proper to be observed by the rest of mankind, to enable them to gain the favour of the gods, and to attain a more exalted state in their transmigration. They ought to have no interference in worldly concerns; but they have long been the principal officers, civil and military, in all Hindoo states. Those Bramins who strictly follow the tenets of their faith, and devote their lives to the study of what Hindoos conceive the divine ordinances, are held in great esteem; but otherwise, in the Mahratta country, there is no veneration for the Bramin character.

Independent of the two Mahratta divisions of

* There are in India two general divisions of Bramins, termed the *Punch Gour*, and the *Punch Drawed*; these two are subdivided into five each; the Punch Gour belong to what has been termed by Rennell, Hindoostan Proper, or the country north of the Nerbuddah, and the other five to Guzerat, and the country south of that river, and the Vendhia or (as they have been already noticed by the more familiar Mahratta name of) the Sautpoora mountains. Those south of the Nerbuddah are the *Maharasht*, the *Andur*, or *Teling*, the *Drawed*, and the *Carnatic*. The *Goojur* are of Guzerat.

Besides the great divisions of *Mahdeo Bhugt*, and *Vishnoo Bhugt*, or the respective followers of Mahdeo and Vishnoo, there are a great number of subdivisions in all these five classes of Bramins, whose appellations correspond with four of the great divisions of the ancient definition of the Deccan already given; they also derive distinctions from any of the four Vedas in which they may be primarily instructed.

Concanist *, or those who belong to the country below the Ghauts, and Deshist, or those of the territory above, there are in the Mahratta country eight classes † of Bramins, who differ from each other in

* The Peishwa, who attained sovereign authority in the Mahratta nation, were of this class. Concanists, from this circumstance, and the power which it naturally threw into their hands, pretend to some superiority in cast; but these pretensions are not well founded. They are termed *Chitpawun*, which, amongst other significations, means "a dead body raised." Their origin, according to what is mentioned in a Sanscrit work, entitled *The Syhadree Kind*, was fourteen dead bodies of different casts that had been drowned in the sea; whence they were transported by Vishnoo in his outar of Pureshram, after he had forced the sea to give up the Concan, or *Pureshram Ksheter*, and re-animated to people his new country. From these fourteen families sprang the Concanee Bramins, who are now distinguished by sixty surnames. The Deshist Bramins, although they have surnames, prefer the distinction of their father's name, or the place of their residence, to their surname, which they will seldom mention.

The Concanist Bramins, before the elevation of Ballajee Wishwanath, commonly called the first, though in fact the fifth Peishwa, were not employed as clerks and men of business, but as *hurkarus* and spies. They carefully suppress or destroy all copies of the *Syhadree Kind*, where their origin is mentioned, and a respectable Bramin of Waee was, a few years ago, disgraced by Bajee Rao for having a copy of it. The Concanists say, that the word *chitpawun* was originally *chitpohle*, literally signifying "searing the heart," made use of in their addresses to their patron Pureshram for not attending to their petitions; this expression, however, being considered undutiful, or improper, was changed to *chitpawun*, "pure-hearted," which they interpret "a sinner pardoned."

Of all the Bramins with whom I am acquainted, the Concanists are the most sensible and intelligent.

† Their names, arranged according to their degree, are 1. Kurara, 2. Yajurwedee, or Mahadinjen, 3. Kannoo, 4. Deorookay, 5. Kirwunt, 6. Shenwee, 7. Tirgool, and 8. Suwassay.

some of their usages, and present, to those accustomed to observe them, perceptible differences both of character and appearance.

The second of the four grand classes of Hindoos is termed Kshittree, or the military body. The pure Kshittrees are considered extinct; but the Rajpoots *, who assume their appellation and their privileges, are the least degenerate of their descendants.

The third grand class is the Weysh †, or the mercantile community.

* Rajapootras, or literally the Children of Rajas. They are the offspring of Kshittree Rajas with women of other casts, and are said to have existed since about the year 2000 of the Kalhee Yoog.

† The real Weysh is also said to be extinct; the Wanees, or Banians, occupy their place; but of a long list of the classes of Banians, there is not one of the subdivisions that is real Weysh. The class termed *Komtee* which is most common in Telingana, is the least degenerate. The other Banians in the Mahratta country are the *Lingait*, *Goojur*, and *Jain*. The Lingait, although their Banians reckon themselves Weysh, are, like the Jain, a distinct sect; they are divided into three classes, termed Silwunt, Punchum, and Tirulee; their Gooroos, or priests, are termed Jungum; they derive their appellation from wearing the Ling, an obscene symbol of both Mahdeo and Vishnoo. They will not eat what has been cooked by a Bramin, and they differ in their religious tenets, denying the doctrine of metempsychosis; they are also deficient in some domestic observances rigidly practised by other Hindoos. The Goojur get their name rather from their country than their cast, being originally from Guzerat. There are also Bramins who are Goojurs. The Jains are not so common in Maharashtra as in the country south of the Kistna. A good account of this remarkable sect has been given by Colonel Mackenzie, in the Asiatic Researches, vol. ix.

The last of the four grand classes is the Shooder: they are properly the cultivators, and as such, are known in the Mahratta country by the name of *Koonbee*.

But besides these four grand divisions, there are a vast number of Hindoos, the intermixed progeny of the four classes and of each other. They are not, however, what the European reader might fancy as outcasts: they have a community of their own, and ranks, professions, and employments peculiar to themselves, of which there are an infinite number. All trades and artizans are of this irregular offspring, and classed, in Maharashtra, under the general appellation of *Shunkerjatee*. *

* Independent of other Hindoo observances, all classes of the Shunkerjatee have a sort of moral and religious government amongst themselves: they have heads or chiefs, now termed Muqudum, Chowdree, &c. &c. whose power seems to be the result of supposed suffrage, rather than of any regular election. There is no one Muqudum who has any very general authority in the Mahratta country; but all classes are subject to the same sort of rules: they are frequently strict in enforcing both spiritual and temporal observances. An infringement of what is customary is liable to a general inquiry in the community, every member of which may be readily roused to a jealous defence of what is considered either privilege or propriety. The lower casts of the Shunkerjatee are not less particular than the others; and hence it is, that in native regiments, the European officers often complain of having no trouble with affairs of cast except among low-cast men. For the origin of the Shunkerjatee, to those who may be desirous of acquiring minute information, reference may be made to Mr. Colebrook's writings on the subject, in the Asiatic Researches, vol. v. The most remarkable thing in the classification of the Shunkerjatee is, that the offspring of the Shooder, with a woman of the Bramin class, is the lowest of all. The term Shunkerjatee,

From all casts and classes there are devotees, who, renouncing the world, assume a religious character, which is generally put on in order to attain a larger share of what they pretend to give up; but some have been exemplary in their conduct, and, by the tenor of their lives, as well as their penance and observances, are supposed to have been animated by hopes paramount to all bodily suffering, and to have looked for no earthly reward; that in them even vanity was subdued, and that they were superior to that greatest of all seductions, the praise of their fellow-men. A person of such a character is termed a Sadhoo: he may be of any cast, or persuasion; for a Hindoo admits that there may be pure devotion in any religion, sex, or cast. Of the Sadhoos, or saints that have been famous in Maharashtra, Kubheer * was a Mahomedan, Tookaram a Banian, Kanhoo Patra, a woman born of the dancing tribe, and Choka Mela was a Mhar or Dher.

Bramin devotees are of three sorts, Brimhacharee †, Wan Prist, and Sunneashee.

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in the Mahratta country, is applied to the mixed classes, which, in many other parts of India, and in Sanscrit manuscripts, are styled *Wurn Shunkur:* this term is in use in Maharashtra, but is applied to any sort of employment in which a person may be engaged unbecoming his cast. A Bramin's child by a slave girl is termed *Sindey.*

* Kubheer lived a Mohomedan; but when dead, the Hindoos claimed him as a Sadhoo.

† Though this be a name for those devotees who are rigid students for twelve years, all Bramin boys are termed *Brimhacharee* from the time of their admission into their cast, that

Banians, though there are many devotees from this class of people, are not so apt to become so, as the other casts.

The Rajpoots, however, and all classes of Shooders * may become Gosaeens and Byragees. † When a Bramin assumes either of these characters, he forfeits all claim to cast as a Bramin. Yet Gosaeen is a familiar name for the followers and disciples of the famous Mahapoorush ‡, and Brim-

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is, from the period at which the ceremony of the *Moonj* is performed until the consummation of their marriage, when they become *Grehusth*, or householders. The ceremony of the *Moonj* is performed in all Hindoo families of the higher casts, of which the males may be entitled to use the *Janwa*, or distinguishing thread worn next the skin. This takes place when the boy is five or six years old, and the occasion is celebrated with more or less pomp, according to the wealth or poverty of the parents. The ceremony is performed by the household priest, who is called Gooroo, or Oopadheea, and, in itself, is merely fastening a piece of cloth about the child's middle, and tying the Janwa diagonally across the body, over the right shoulder; whilst the *Gayetri*, a mystical Sanscrit verse, is pronounced by the child's father, which all Bramins know, but none ought to disclose. Previous to this, the child is not a Bramin, or accountable for omissions or infringements in eating, bathing, &c. &c.

* The Gaolees, or milkmen, hold the highest rank amongst the Shooders; some say by descent, others by their being born in employment about that most sacred animal the cow. Nawees, or barbers, from being frequently in contact with Bramins, likewise acquire a reflected superiority, but they are properly of the Shunkerjatee.

† Hindoo devotees, who subsist on charity, are often indiscriminately termed Fuqeers by Europeans; though the term is applicable to Mahomedan beggars only.

‡ An explanation of this word will appear hereafter.

hacharee, Ramdass Swamy, the spiritual director of Sivajee; and it is likewise an appellation of those Bramins who are professional story-tellers, or reciters of Kuthas, generally known as Hurdass * Gosaeen; but in these cases it is a mere nominal distinction.

The Gosaeens †, properly so called, are followers of Mahdeo. The Byragees generally maintain the supremacy of Vishnoo.

* *Dass* means servant; *Huree* is a name of Vishnoo. *Hurdass*, the servant of Vishnoo.

† Their founder was Shunkeracharya: there are ten divisions of them, with some shades of difference in their observances; the ten are 1. *Guree*, 2. *Pooree*, 3. *Bhartee*, 4. *Bun*, 5. *Arun*, 6. *Surusuttee*, 7. *Teert*, 8. *Ashrim*, 9. *Sagur*, and 10. *Purwutt*.

To become a Gosaeen, such casts as wear the *Kurgoota*, or string round the loins, destroy it, and substitute a piece of cloth, if any covering be deemed necessary; and the person generally attaches himself to some one of the fraternity, as desirous of becoming a *chela*, or disciple. The novice may proceed thus far, and still retract: the irretrievable step by which he becomes a Gosaeen for ever, is in the ceremony called *Home*, which, in this case, must be gone through in the most solemn manner. It is performed by taking an earthen vessel, one cubit square, termed *stundeel*; this is to be filled with pure unmixed mould, over which powders of various colours are to be strewed; upon this a fire is kindled, and over the whole Ghee, or milk, is poured for a certain number of times, during which, *munturs*, or mystical verses, are repeated, and vows solemnly made, of poverty, celibacy, and perpetual pilgrimage to the different holy places throughout India. Ghee is butter clarified by boiling. Milk is always used by a Bramin in performing the *Home*, on this, as well as on other more common occasions of daily occurrence. The disciples of a Gosaeen are obtained in three ways: voluntary followers, slaves purchased, and children obtained from parents who had vowed to make them Gosaeens previous to their birth.

The Gosaeens are a much more numerous body in the Mahratta country than the Byragees: their dress, when they wear clothes, is invariably dyed orange; a colour emblematical of Mahdeo. The Gosaeens, for the most part, have deviated from the rules of their order in a manner universally stigmatized by Hindoos. They engage in trade; they enlist as soldiers; some of them marry, and many of them have concubines. Gosaeens, who go without clothing, acquire superior character; but those of greatest sanctity are the Gosaeens, who never shave, or cut their hair or nails, or who have vowed to keep their heads or limbs in a particular position. The penances by extremes of heat and cold, and the voluntary tortures which some of them undergo, are often greater than one might suppose the human frame could endure.

Men who survive such exposure, and voluntarily submit to such bodily suffering, are, it may easily be conceived, very formidable when they take up arms. Gosaeens and Byragees have frequently waged a religious war; and some of the divisions of Gosaeens have had desperate battles with each other. Under a weak or unsettled government, the Gosaeens and Byragees have both been guilty of dreadful outrages on the persons and properties of the inoffensive part of the community; but the former are more notorious in this respect than the latter. They used to travel in armed parties, and under pretence of seeking charity, levied contributions on the country. Where unsuccessfully resisted, they frequently plundered,

murdered, and committed the most brutal enormities.

The reader will now understand, from what has been said of the most conspicuous classes of the inhabitants in Maharashtra, that the name Mahratta is applicable in some degree to all of them, when spoken of in contradistinction to men of other countries; but amongst themselves a Mahratta Bramin will carefully distinguish himself from a Mahratta. That term, though extended to the Koonbees, or cultivators, is, in strictness, confined to the military families of the country, many of whom claim a doubtful but not improbable descent from the Rajpoots.

The women in the Mahratta country are well treated; they are the helpmates, but by no means the slaves of their husbands; nor are they in the degraded state in which some travellers have described the condition of the women in other parts of India, and in which the ordinances of the Shasters would place them. There is one custom generally observed among them, which is, that the wives of all the chiefs and military men, who pretend to Rajpoot descent, are as strictly veiled as the Mahomedan ladies of rank, and as much disgrace attaches to their being seen, particularly by persons not Hindoos. This observance they probably adopted, in the first instance, from the Deccanee Mussulmans, or the Moghuls, but they say it is handed down as a usage of the branch of Rajpoots, from whom they are descended. Mahratta ladies of this description, on the death of their husbands, frequently immolate themselves

with the corpse; but in cases where they either have helpless infants, or important family affairs requiring their care, they are rarely permitted to do so. Should they for the latter reason choose to survive, their veil is in a great degree removed, as they are obliged to appear where business demands their presence, in company with men, in an assembly, or even in battle.

With regard to religion, the principal feature in that of all Hindoos is their belief in the transmigration of the soul; and without attempting to reconcile, much less to defend, the ridiculous inconsistencies of their wild mythology, or to account for the differences that exist, in what may be now stated, from that which prevails in other parts of India, a brief summary of the religious creed of the Mahrattas will here be useful, especially to the reader in England: — They believe that the great Divine Spirit pervades the universe; that the soul of every human being is a part of that great Spirit, and when perfectly purified is re-united to it. This is the ultimate reward of the good, whilst the punishment of the wicked consists in being re-born in a state proportionally distant from that reunion. The soul which animates the body of a Bramin is nearest to this state of beatitude, provided he shall duly fulfil the ordinances of his faith; but if he do not, his soul shall be detained in *nurruk*, or hell, until sufficient torture, in expiation of sins, has been inflicted, when it will be sent to re-animate some other living shape upon the earth. The souls of all mankind must, there-

fore, pass through the human form of a Bramin as their last probation, unless that perfect goodness can be attained, which they describe in the character of a Sadhoo; in which case immediate admittance is gained to eternal happiness.

The Mahrattas suppose that the divine nature, in itself, cannot be the agent; yet, from this divine nature, or great spirit, known by the name of Brimh, emanated Prakritee, or nature, and Brahma the creator, Vishnoo the preserver, and Siva or Mahdeo the destroyer: the respective wives of these three are Sawitree, Luximee, and Parbuttee.

Brahma created all things: he created human beings, and was himself incarnate; he is the father of the *Deos*, or good spirits; and likewise of the *Dyts*, or evil spirits. Indra is the chief of the former, and Bullee of the latter. The agents of preservation and destruction, together with their wives, have likewise become incarnate, and assumed a multitude of forms on the earth, in order to fulfil the ends of their being. These incarnations are called their *outars*; the different names of these, together with a number of emanations, produce a host of deities, amounting, say the Bramins, exclusive of Brahma, Vishnoo, and Mahdeo, to three hundred and thirty millions.

There is but one temple dedicated to Brahma in India, which is at Pooshkur, near Ajimere, Vishnoo, Mahdeo, and their wives, are worshipped under the names of their various outars, in numerous temples, where their images are preserved. There are a multitude of incarnations from all of

them; but there are eleven principal outars of Mahdeo, and ten of Vishnoo: those of Mahdeo were chiefly for the purpose of assisting Indra, in his wars with the Dyts: those of Vishnoo are the most celebrated; but as they are well known, it may be sufficient to remark, that his wars for the destruction of evil genii, and oppressive Rajas, and the shapes he assumed for the preservation of the world on various occasions, are recorded in the Poorans, or sacred histories, forming the subject of their great popular poems, the Ramayun, the Mahabharut, and the Bhagwut. These poems have in later times been imitated in Mahratta, and have afforded a never failing fund of amusement, in supplying ideas and allusions for all Kuthas, a sort of recitative, intermixed with music and song; in which tales, achievements, acts, and penances of the gods are related, anecdotes and allusions to passing occurrences, often wittily introduced, and good moral lessons frequently conveyed. The Kuthas * are a popular amusement in Maharashtra with all ranks and casts.

There is no religion in which there are a greater number of sectaries than that of the Hindoos. The two great divisions are those who acknowledge the supremacy of Vishnoo, and those who assert the superiority, or equality of Mahdeo †, the latter

* Divested of the religious character of which they partake, Kuthas more nearly resemble Mr. Matthews's entertainments of the present day, than any thing to which I can compare them in England.

† Mahdeo, it may be here observed, does not destroy indiscriminately, and is not the depriver of life; that occupation belongs to the goddess *Mrultyoo*; and as soon as the soul de-

has long been the prevailing creed throughout Maharashtra.

Most individuals have some deity, which they reckon especially propitious to themselves: this deity is termed Aradh; but every family has invariably a tutelary god, who is styled their Kool Swamy.* All the gods are worshipped more particularly at certain times, for instance, Gunputtee, the son of Mahdeo, on commencing any thing; and the name of Ram (an outar of Vishnoo) is pronounced in the hour of death; but the Aradh and Kool Swamy are inwardly implored on ordinary occasions, when suing for strength to perform what is good, or to resist what is evil; to obtain health, happiness, or any worthy object. Such Bramins as can be termed religious instructors, are either Oopadheeas, or Gooroos; the distinction in these is, that the Oopadheea is commonly the hereditary domestic teacher in a family, and the Gooroo is the chosen instructor and intercessor of an individual. Many persons, especially men of consequence, choose some celebrated devotee for their spiritual guide, whose sanctity is supposed to be such, that by his intercession with the Deity, objects will be granted which would be

parts, it is carried to be judged by *Yem Dhurm*, who is the son of *Soorya*, (the sun,) an outar of Vishnoo. I have not met with Mahdeo as the renovator: and if that idea be taken from any similarity in character with the heathen deity Jupiter genitor, as alluded to by Sir William Jones, it is a fanciful notion, to say the least.

* Byhroo, Joteba, Kundoba, and Parbuttee, under her name of Dewee-Bhowanee, are generally the Kool Swamy and Aradh of the Mahratta soldiery. In villages, temples to Byhroo, Luximee, and Gunputtee, are the most common.

denied to the less worthy individual. Such a mediator, though he may not attain the character of a Sadhoo, is superior to other Gooroos, and acquires the appellation of *Mahapooroosh*. * It is remarkable that the Mahapooroosh of the Mahrattas is sometimes a Mahomedan.

All natives of India, even the most intelligent of them, are extremely superstitious, and place great reliance on astrology, omens, prodigies, and prophecies; and nothing of magic, witchcraft, or supernatural agency, is too gross for the credulity of the multitude.

All Mahratta learning, except simple reading, writing, and arithmetic, is confined to those Bramins †, who study the Sanscrit language, in which only their sacred writings are composed. The principal of these are, the four Bheds, or Vedas; the six Shasters; and the Poorans ‡, or sacred his-

* The *Mahapooroosh* is frequently referred to as an oracle, and on predicting falsely, is often blamed by the disappointed individual, who declares him responsible for the unfortunate issue of the affair. On the other hand, when the Mahapooroosh is not so well rewarded as he might expect, he sometimes (though this is rare) threatens to withdraw his protection from a person so unmindful and so unworthy.

† Bramins learned in the Shasters have the title of Shastree; in the Vedas, Waudeek; in both Shasters and Vedas, Pundit. Titles which much resemble those of the learned Rabbis in the Jewish synagogue.

‡ The Poorans were written by Veas, an inspired Bramin, one of the seven immortal human beings. Walmeek, the author of the Ramayun, was, according to Mahratta legend, a Koolee, whose place of residence is pointed out near the Neera Bridge, at a village called Veerwalla, not far from Jejoory, and contiguous to the Poorundhur range.

tories, of which there are eighteen principal; but upon these there are an infinite number of explanations and commentaries.

A small proportion only of the Mahratta Bramins understand Sanscrit; and there is no great proficiency, even in Hindoo literature, to be found among them at the present day.

Much injudicious praise has been lavished on the learning and virtue of the Hindoos, and in exposing these panegyrics, their character has become the theme of still more injudicious censure. Both extremes are unjust; and surely it would be better, that the unfavourable side of the picture should not be viewed by any person whose fortunes may lead him to the shores of India as a servant of the public. If our young countrymen proceed to their destination unbiassed by prejudice, study the language, and cultivate the acquaintance of the natives, they will, after long intercourse, have many kind recollections and feelings towards them. They may often be disgusted with corruption, meanness, and every debasing passion, which observation and general intercourse with mankind in all parts of the world will too frequently discover; but they will soon perceive, that many of these vices have originated in a corrupt, oppressive government, and the demoralizing effects of an absurd superstition; that they really possess many virtues, and great qualities; and that much of what is amiable, in every relation of life, may be found amongst the natives of India.

We now proceed, however, to notice the first records of events, which have as yet been dis-

covered, relative to that portion of the people of whom our subject more particularly treats.

Like the early history of every country, that of Maharashtra is involved in much obscurity; yet there are traces of two or three great revolutions previous to the Mahomedan conquest. Popular legend tells us, that the people called *Gursee*, who are a low cast, and the best performers amongst the rude musicians of the country, are the aborigines of Maharashtra: and this is supported by the authority of the Poorans, in which it is stated, that the tract between the Cavery and the Godavery, was termed *Dhundkarinya*, or the forest, and that when Rawun held universal sway, he bestowed it upon the *Wajintree*, or musicians. But the first authentic account we have of any sovereignty in the country, is that of which Tagara was the metropolis. This city was frequented by Egyptian merchants two hundred and fifty years before Christ; and the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, who wrote about the middle of the second century, particularly mentions it as a place of great resort, and well known to the Greeks as the emporium for the supply of their merchandise.

Its name is well known to learned Hindoos, but its exact position has not been ascertained *; though it was probably situated on the bank of the Godavery, a little to the north-east of the modern town of Bheer. It was under the government of a Rajpoot prince, whose authority appears to have been very

* In the transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, vol. iii. my reasons for this supposition are published.

extensive, and acknowledged by several other rajas, as he is styled the chief of the chiefs of Tagara.*

It is probable that the power of the rajas of Tagara originated by conquest from the northward; but the next revolution of which we have any trace, appears to have been occasioned by an insurrection in the country, headed by a man of an inferior cast, named Shalivahan†, whose accession to power forms an epoch, commencing in the year 77—78 of the Christian era.

Shalivahan, it is supposed, removed the seat of government to Prutesthan, which is the Paithana mentioned in the Periplus, and the modern town of Mungy Pyetun, situated on the banks of the Godavery.—What follows in regard to this prince is extracted from the fabulous legends of the country.

Shalivahan‡ annexed the territory of a raja, who reigned at Asseer, to his own dominions: this raja was descended from Sissoday, a Rajpoot raja of the solar race; his ancestor having emigrated

* Mentioned in old grants of land, engraved on copper-plates.

† He is said by some to have been a Koonbee, or cultivator, and by others to have been the son of a *Koomar*, or potter. The legends of the country call him an outar of Mahdeo. His mother, says the same authority, was the virgin daughter of a Bramin, who becoming pregnant by a snake of a sacred kind, was in consequence supposed to be disgraced, and was driven from her father's threshold; but she was received into the house of a potter, by whom she was protected.

‡ There are various legends respecting Shalivahan, in different parts of India: this is what is current in Maharashtra, and it is not of importance to inquire whether this or that fable be the more probable.

from Koshul Desh, the modern Oude, and founded a state on the south side of the Nerbuddah, which, at the period of its conquest by Shalivahan, had existed 1680 years. Shalivahan put the whole of the members of this family to death, excepting one woman, who, having escaped with her infant son, found shelter and subsistence in a miraculous manner amongst the Sautpoora mountains: this son afterwards became the founder of the family of the Rana of Cheitore. From the Ranas of Cheitore sprang the Ranas of Oudepoor, universally admitted to be the oldest family in Hindoostan; and from them, according to the legend quoted, it is pretended that the founder of the Mahratta nation, as hitherto known to us, drew his lineage. The legend proceeds to state, that Shalivahan long waged war with Vikramajeet, the Prince of Malwa; but they at last concluded a treaty by which the Nerbuddah became the boundary of Shalivahan to the north, and of Vikramajeet to the south. The commencement of the reign of each was to form an epoch for future calculation in their respective countries; that of Vikramajeet commences fifty-seven years before the birth of our Saviour, and is still prevalent to the northward of the Nerbuddah; whilst that of Shalivahan, already noticed, continues in the Deccan. In the Mahratta manuscripts, these epochs have been rather inconsistently adduced as a proof of such a treaty betwixt Vikramajeet and Shalivahan; because as there is a difference of one hundred and thirty-three years, the eras themselves refute the story; unless we suppose that Vikramajeet had prior claims to sove-

reignty, and that the era was reckoned from the time of some of his forefathers.

There were, probably, several other revolutions in Maharashtra; but nothing is known as to the cause, or period of a subsequent removal of the capital from Paithana to Deogurh, the modern Doulutabad. Some manuscripts deduce a succession of rajas from Shalivahan to Jadow Ramdeo Rao, who was the reigning prince at the time of the first appearance of the Mahomedans in that quarter, in the end of the thirteenth century. At that period, and as far back as there is any authentic record, the Mahratta country seems to have been divided into many small states, more or less independent.

Ferishta mentions the opposition which Alp Khan, the Soobehdar, or Governor, of Guzerat, experienced from a raja named Kirren, when co-operating with Mullik Kafoor in the second expedition into the Deccan. The Raja of Gondwaneh is noticed; and the Raja of Buglana is frequently mentioned by that author. By a grant of land, engraved on a copperplate, and found at Tannah near Bombay*, it appears that there was a Raja reigning in or near the island of Salsette, A. D. 1018, who claimed descent from the rajas of Tagara. A copperplate of a similar description, found at Satara†, proves that A. D. 1192, there was a Raja at Panalla, who possessed a considerable territory.‡ By the legends

* First volume of Asiatic Researches, page 357.

† Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, vol. iii.

‡ He is said to have built the following fifteen forts, viz. 1. Pawungurh, 2. Panalla, 3. Bhoodurgurh, 4. Bowra, 5. Kelneh, (or Vishalgurh,) 6. Samangurh, 7. Rangna, 8. Wussuntgurh,

of the country, he is said to have reigned over the whole of the tract extending from the Mahdeo range of hills, north of Satara, to the Hurnkassee river, south of Kalapoor, and including all the southern tract of the Concan as far as Sewdasheogurh.

This raja likewise claimed descent from the rajas of Tagara. His country, according to tradition, was reduced by a raja named Singin, also said to have been a Rajpoot prince. The place of his standing encampment during the time his troops were reducing the country of the raja of Panalla, is still shown close to Mahsoorna in the neighbourhood of Poosasaoly, south of Satara. The Raja Singin died before he had firmly established himself, and the territory of Bhoje, Raja of Panalla, fell into the hands of Mahratta polygars.* The Concan-Ghaut-Mahta, from the neighbourhood of Poona to the Warna, belonged to a family named Sirkay, whose descendants assumed the title of raja, and to this day rank amongst the highest of the Mahratta nobility. †

It is probable, that future research in the Deccan may add considerably to this list, and establish further proofs in support of an opinion now pretty

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9. Satara, 10. Chundun, 11. Wundun, 12. Nandgeeree, 13. Kelinja, 14. Pandoogurh, and 15. Wyratgurh. They are still known by these names, excepting, I believe, Bhoodurgurh.

* Polygar in the Mahratta country, means one who has become independent, who refuses to pay revenue, and levies contributions from all those from whom he can enforce them.

† Mahratta MSS. and tradition.

general among Europeans, that India, at a period long antecedent to the Mahomedan conquest, was divided into many small states.

The most beneficial result of such research would be, the probable discovery of the various modes of revenue management, and the origin of many institutions now found in the country. Some partial explanation of these points must here be given, because a previous acquaintance with them is essentially necessary to the reader, in order to understand the state of the country at different periods, and to comprehend the mode in which the modern Mahrattas, gradually and insidiously found pretexts for encroaching upon the corrupt and indolent Mahomedans.

In Maharashtra, and indeed throughout all the country of the Hindoos, next to their singular arrangement into casts, the most striking feature in their polity is the division of the whole country into villages, each of which forms a distinct community.

A Hindoo village in the Deccan is termed *Gaom;* when not a market-town, it is called *Mouza;* and when it enjoys that distinction, it is styled *Kusba.* Every village is a small state in miniature, and all the land in the country, with the exception of inaccessible mountains, or places wholly unfrequented, is attached to some one village. The boundaries of its lands are defined, and encroachments carefully resisted; the arable land is divided into fields; each field has a name, which, together with the name of the owner or occupant

is registered. The inhabitants are principally cultivators, and are now either Meerasdars*, or Ooprees.† These names serve to distinguish the tenure by which they hold their lands. The Oopree is a mere tenant at will, but the Meerasdar is a hereditary occupant, whom the government cannot displace as long as he pays the assessment on his field. With various privileges and distinctions in his village, of minor consequence, the Meerasdar has the important power of selling or transferring his right of occupancy at pleasure. To render this right saleable, of course, infers a low rate of assessment, and much discussion as to his being the proprietor of the soil has, in consequence, arisen, in different parts of British India. It is a current opinion in the Mahratta country that all the lands were originally of this description.

Besides the cultivators and the regular establishment, there are other casts and trades in proportion to the size of each village. The complete establishment consists of a *Patell*, *Koolkurnee*, and *Chougula*, with twenty-four persons, called the *Baruh Balowtay*, and *Baruh Alowtay*.‡ These

* Meerasdar. This is a Mahomedan appellation, though in more general use than Thulkuree, which is the Mahratta word for the same sort of tenure.

† Oopree literally signifies a stranger, and is here applied to the mere renter, in opposition to the hereditary occupant.

‡ The following are the twelve Balowtay, and twelve Alowtay, according to the general, but not universal opinion of the Mahrattas;—First, *Balowtay*.—The head of the twelve Balowtay is the carpenter. Second, the blacksmith. Third, the shoemaker and currier. Fourth, the Mhar, or Dher. This is a person of the very lowest order of Shunkerjatee, except the Mang; but

twenty-four persons are of various trades and professions, necessary as artisans and public servants, or desirable on account of religious observances

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on the village establishment his duties are very important. The Mhar acts as scout, as guide, frequently as watchman; he cleans travellers' horses, and is obliged, if required, to carry the travellers' baggage; he is a principal guardian of the village boundaries, and in Maharashtra, the Mhars are a very active, useful, and intelligent race of people. Fifth, the Mang, makes all leather ropes, thongs, whips, &c., used by the cultivators; he frequently acts as watchman; he is by profession a thief and executioner; he readily hires himself as an assassin, and when he commits a robbery, he also frequently murders. The Mangs are not so intelligent as the Mhars: both the one and the other eat the carcases of cattle that have died of disease, and are exceedingly filthy in many respects. Sixth, the potter. Seventh, the barber. Eighth, the washerman. Ninth, the *goorow*, who is a shooder employed to wash, ornament, and attend the idol in the village temple; and on occasions of feasting, to prepare the *patrowlee* or leaves, which the Hindoos substitute for plates. They are also trumpeters by profession, and in this capacity are much employed in Mahratta armies. Tenth, the *joshee* or astrologer, is a Bramin who calculates nativities, foretells lucky and unlucky days, &c. Eleventh, the bhat or bard. Twelfth, the moolana, so called by the Mahrattas, is the moolla, or Mahomedan priest; and it is very strange how he is found ingrafted on the Balowtay establishment of a Hindoo village; if on the Alowtay, which some say he ought to be, it would have been less unaccountable, especially, if we admit, as is frequently done, that the institution of the Alowtay must have been at a period long after that of the Balowtay; but this seems little more than mere conjecture.—The moolana has charge of the mosques and burial places of Mahomedan saints, and manages the affairs of Enam, or free-hold lands attached to them. He performs the ceremony at Mahomedan marriages, and ought to be competent to all the duties of a Moolla; but he is very often found where there is no Mahomedan family except his own, and is

and common amusements. Very few villages are complete, and in a great part of the Concan, the Khotes, or ancient farmers of the village revenue

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known to the Mahratta population as the person who kills their sheep and goats when offered as a sacrifice at temples, or in their fields, to propitiate the deities presiding over the different *stulls*, or great divisions of the village lands. The Moolana, likewise, kills the sheep for the *Katik*, who, although frequently mistaken for the butcher, is, in fact, the person who cleans and exposes the meat for sale. The Moolana is entitled to two pice (small copper coin,) and the heart of every animal he kills for the Katik. Some of the Mahrattas are unmindful of the ceremony, but in general they profess not to eat flesh, unless the *neyt* has been pronounced by the Moolana, or some Mussulman, capable of repeating what renders the flesh of any animal *hullal*, or lawful to be eaten. To account for this extraordinary adoption of Mahomedan observance puzzles the Hindoos. The Moolana has the same kind of allowances as the other Balowtay. Second, the *Alowtay*, are: First, the Sonar, or goldsmith, he is assayer of coins, as well as the maker of gold and silver ornaments for the richer inhabitants. Second, the Jungum, or *Gooroo* of the Lingait sect. Third, the tailor. Fourth, the Kolee, or water-carrier. Fifth, the Tural, or Yeskur, is a Mhar; but the Alowtay rights, which constitute the Tural's emoluments, are distinct from the Balowtay of the Mhars. It is the duty of the Tural to remain in the village, and never to quit its boundary. He is at the constant call of the Patell, but his particular duty is to attend strangers, and take care of all travellers from the moment of their entering the village; of which, if walled, the Tural is porter. He furnishes all necessary information, as well as supplies to strangers, and is often extremely useful to them. His duties are very numerous. Sixth, the gardener. Seventh, the Dowree Gosawee, a religious personage who beats the *Dour*, a species of small tambourin. Eighth, the Gursee, or piper. The Gursees, as already noticed, are said to be descended from the aborigines of Dhund Karinya, the forest, or country between the sources

have long become hereditary, and superseded the name and office of the chief village magistrate; but in the upper country every village has its Patell and Koolkurnee, and each of the larger villages has its bard and astrologer, as well as its carpenter, blacksmith, barber, and watchman. The smaller have only one or two of the most useful artizans.

The Patell is the head managing authority, his immediate assistant is the Chougula, and both of them are generally of the Shooder cast.*

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of the Beema and Cavery. Ninth, the Ramoosee, or Bheel. These, although their office is the same when employed on the village establishment, are different casts of people, but they resemble each other in many of their habits; both are professed thieves. The Ramoosees belong more particularly to Maharashtra. The Bheels, in the Mahratta country, are only found in Candeish, and along the Syhadree range, north of Joonere. In villages, they generally hold the office of watchman; and when a country is settled, they become useful auxiliaries in the police; but under a weak government, or when anarchy prevails, they quit their habitations, and become thieves and robbers. The Ramoosees use the sword and matchlock: the Bheels more commonly the bow and arrow; the latter are less domesticated than the former. Bheels abound to the north of the Nerbuddah, and over the greater part of Guzerat. When employed on the village establishment, they are, in that province, called *Burtinneas*. Tenth, the Telee, or oil seller. Eleventh, Tambowlee, or pawn leaf vender. Twelfth, the Gonedullee, or beater of the *tambhut*, a double kettle-drum.

* This is an argument against those Mahratta Patells, who claim a Rajpoot descent; but it is by no means conclusive, as there are proofs of their having, in many instances, purchased the office from the tribe called *Kassar*. The Patellship, owing to the Hindoo law of inheritance, and the Patell's right of selling a portion, or *tuqseemu* of his wutun, is frequently

The principal person next to the Patell, is the Koolkurnee, the clerk, or registrar, who is now generally a Bramin.*

The Patell is assisted by the rest of the establishment in managing the affairs of the village; and the whole are paid by lands, grain, or money, apportioned in shares to each individual by the regulations of the community.

The Patell superintends the cultivation, manages the police, and frequently provides for the amusement as well as the protection of the village. When disputes arise, which cannot be settled by the friendly interference of neighbours, the complaint is carried to the Patell, who advises, admonishes, and frequently induces the parties to compromise the matter; but if it seem necessary, the Patell assembles some of the inhabitants best acquainted with the circumstances, to whom the case is, in due form, submitted for arbitration: this is called a *Punchayet*, which commonly consists of five

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divided and subdivided into two, four, or more shares amongst different families; and all the members of one of these families, the head of which holds any such share, call themselves Patell. In the same way the members of a Koolkurnee's family style themselves Koolkurnee, and so on of all other hereditary offices. The Patell, who holds the chief managing authority, is styled *Muqudum*.

* This has not always been the case; many of the Koolkurnees were Purbhoos; *Sonars* (goldsmiths); and *Simpees* (tailors). The Bramins excuse themselves for having entered upon worldly occupations, by the plea of necessity. "Mankind," say they, "had become so corrupt, that charity to Bramins was not duly attended to, and hunger compelled them to adopt some means of obtaining food."

members. Such is the simple outline of the civil government of a village. In criminal cases, though instances are found where a Patell has exercised great power under the Mahratta government, he is not, by the acknowledged custom of the country, vested with the authority of fine or imprisonment, or the power of inflicting corporal punishment; when crimes of such a nature occur, it is the duty of the Patell to report the case to his superior, or to apprehend and forward the culprit to higher authority.

The name Patell, though not a Mahomedan word, is supposed, by the Mahratta Bramins, to have been introduced by the Mahomedans. The ancient Hindoo appellation was *Gaora*, and that of the managing Patell or Muqudum, *Gramadikaree*. The Koolkurnee was termed *Gramlekuk*. A principal part of the duty of the Patell and Koolkurnee is to superintend the arrangement and collection of the revenue. It is the business of the Koolkurnee to keep all public accounts, which are made up annually. In his general account the whole of the land is first stated; then the commons, roads, the site of the village, and all waste land incapable of cultivation, are deducted. The arable land is next shown, and alienations of every description specified. The remainder is the land on which the government assessment is levied. This ought to be laid on with reference to the produce. By the ordinances of the Shasters, one sixth of the crop is the lawful share payable by the ryot, or cultivator, to the Raja. But this usuage of remote antiquity has been long unknown in practice; and

different rates and modes of collection have been fixed, or enacted by succeeding rulers, as wisdom and good policy suggested, or as rapacity and necessity may have urged.

The great source of revenue in every village of the Mahratta country is the land rent; but there are two other heads of collection; the one may be termed the extra revenue, and the other the customs. Under the first of these all taxes are comprehended, which, being added to the amount of the land assessment, the total is called the *Jumma-bundee*. The extra revenue, although made up of a variety of petty items, is neither heavy nor important. The customs are of a more intricate nature. The villages, as already observed, are commonly either termed Mouzas or Kusbas; one very large village may constitute a Kusba, without any dependant villages; but in general, from five to twenty-five villages are subordinate to one Kusba; and on this are regulated the complicated inland imposts, which exist under native governments, and which are probably founded on ancient Hindoo institutions. *

Independent of various allowances in kind, the

* Every Kusba has some usage in levying customs peculiar to itself; import and export, which, in England, refer to the kingdom, apply in India, where these duties exist, to import and export to and from the Kusba, or villages within its range. Thus, there are peculiar rates for the inhabitants of the Kusba, for the inhabitants of Mouzas dependent on the Kusba, and for persons coming from a distance, or from within the range of an adjoining Kusba. In cities, or large towns, where there are several markets, each separate division, where such a market is held, is called *Pete*, and is regulated in a manner nearly similar. Transit duties are of two sorts: one collected

Patells, Koolkurnees, and Chowgulas, hold about one twenty-fifth of the village land, rent free. It is a conjecture of the more intelligent natives of the country, that, in ancient times, these officers superintended by the superior government agents, collected the assessment in kind. The whole of the intermediate agents, that may have existed between the Patell and the Raja, are not precisely ascertained: but at present, over several villages, forming a small district, there are always two hereditary officers; the one called *Deshmookh, Dessaee*, or *Zumeendar;* and the other *Deshpandya, Deshlekuk*, and *Qanoongo*. Both these officers now occasionally assume the title of Zumeendar, but the appellations, Deshmookh and Deshpandya are in more general use in the Mahratta country; and their duties, under the Mahomedan governments, were nearly similar in their districts, to those of the Patell and Koolkurnee in their villages. The Deshmookhs and Patells, with few exceptions, are Maharattas, as the Deshpandyas and Koolkurnees

within the range of the Kusba, and the other a general transit through the country. The general transit is a ready-money payment, and was commonly, at least by the Mahomedans, reserved by government; but the right of collecting within the range of the Kusba is portioned in an intricate manner, and most of the permanent agents of government have some right to share in the customs, which, by them, are collected in kind. Many persons have pensions upon the customs; a right of levying a small share from certain articles, or exacting something from every one exposing their merchandize on a particular spot. These descend as hereditary, and with the divisibility common to all Hindoo property.

Trade, in the Mahratta country, as far as authentic record exists, has always been a secondary object with the government.

are Bramins. Though the services of the Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas are in general dispensed with, they continue to be paid by a portion of land in different parts of their district, which may be estimated at about one twentieth of the arable soil, and a twentieth of the government revenue, or five per cent., separately collected by them, and calculated agreeably to the revenue actually realized. But this is stated merely to give a general idea of their allowances, which are exceedingly variable; and they have many rights of shares and exactions which it is unnecessary to enumerate. The Deshpandya has about half the allowances of the Deshmookh in land, in kind, and in money.

There are many conjectures as to the origin of Deshmookhs* and Deshpandyas. They were, probably, a universal institution of the Hindoo states, as ancient as village establishments, or divisions into casts; and the Deshadikaree and Deshlekuk, may possibly have been the chief managers in the district for the time being, as the Gramadikaree and Gramlekuk were in the village.†

* The Mahomedans, who, like other etymologists, are sometimes very ingenious at the expence of correctness, derive this appellation from words of their own language: *Dus*, signifying ten, and *Mookh*, the fist; hence, say they, Desmookh *the tenth handful*, which brings the signification to accord with the supposed original allowance of those hereditary officers. *Desh*, (or, in Hindoostanee, *Des*,) signifies a country; *Mookh* the mouth; and *Mookhya* a chief: the Mahrattas say the derivation is not from Mookhya, a chief, but from Desh, and Mookh, the mouth, or spokesman of a district. Many Englishmen have adopted the Mahomedan derivation.

† Though the probability is, that the Deshadikars were, like most Hindoo institutions, hereditary, there are some cir-

That there were Deshadikarees is proved by the *Widnyanishwur Shaster* *, in which it is expressly stated that the appeal from the Punchayet, assem-

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cumstances for and against this supposition, which, as the question relates to my subject; as the origin of every thing regarding the rights of the people of India, should be of importance; and as what I mention may be followed up by inquiries more satisfactory, I shall here submit these circumstances to the reader's judgment: — Adikar is a Sanscrit word, signifying the first, or chief in employment, whether as applied to the prime minister of the state, to one deputed by him, or by the prince; it likewise signifies a right, possession, privilege, or inheritance; it is never, however, that I have found, used synonymously with *Writtee*, which is the Hindoo appellation of what is now more generally expressed in the Mahratta country by the name of *Wutun*. Adikaree signifies a possessor, an heir, one who possesses some right or privilege; it is also frequently used as the name of any agent of government, superintending revenue affairs. The name itself, therefore, is in favour of the supposition, that the Deshadikars did exist as permanent hereditary officers; and that the Deshadikaree, like the Gramadikaree, was the principal superintendent amongst the body of relations for the time being.

The reasons, however, for doubting this conclusion, and for supposing the Deshadikars distinct from, and superior to the Deshmookhs, are not unworthy of consideration. At the present day the Mahrattas generally preserve all the Mahomedan forms of address in their letters and official papers, unless they can revert to the ancient Hindoo words and forms with facility. On the occasion of granting Enam, or rent-free lands, of any village, wholly or in part, there are four separate Sunnuds, or deeds of gift made out: 1st. One to the grantee, always confer-

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* This is one of the books of the Dhurm Shaster, and is considered of great antiquity; the author was the celebrated Rooshee Yadnewulkya.

bled by order of the Gramadikaree, was to the Deshadikaree; but there is, as yet, no proof of the Deshadikarees having been a permanent and

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ring the grant on him and his heirs for ever; 2d. One to the Muqudum, or managing Patell in the village; 3. One to the Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas; and 4th, one to the Deshadikarees. The three first are addressed to the parties simply; but to the fourth, the address is, "Raje sree Deshadikaree wo Lekuk, *wurtuman bawee.*" To the Deshadikarees and writers *now* and *hereafter.* The terms used for wurtuman bawee, in the Mahomedan grants are *hal wo istuqbal*, and these are seldom found substituted by the Mahrattas for the Sanscrit. Those who are inclined to defend the antiquity of the Deshmookhs' rights say, this address is merely applicable to the present agents, who are collectors for the government, and occupy the place which was held by the chief, or managing Deshmookh; whilst others adduce it as an instance of there having been no permanent hereditary officer between the Patell and the sovereign, and this opinion they support by some plausible conjectures. The Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas, as now found, were, in the opinion of these last, an institution of the Mahomedans, when they first revolted in the Deccan, and adopted as an inducement for the Mahratta Naiks and Polygars to join their standard against the emperor; that they promised all such officers, and all Deshadikarees certain powers and immunities in their *native district;* and hence, the general introduction of the term *wutun*, an Arabic word signifying *one's native country.* To support this opinion there is one curious circumstance: — In the oldest firmans of the Mahomedan princes of the Deccan, in the preamble to which the petition of the grantee is frequently inserted, all the claims to Deshmookhs' wutun are made, either in consequence of former firmans, granted for services performed to the *Beder king*, (the name by which the princes of the Bahminee dynasty are designated in Maharashtra,) or, if the petitions be addressed to those kings, the application is made in consequence of claims, to which the petitioner considers he has an equal right, with

hereditary officer with lands and immunities such as the Deshmookhs had, under the Mahomedan princes of the Deccan.

The institution of Deshmookh, however, on that footing, if not prior to the rise of the Bahminee dynasty, is at least coeval with it in Maharashtra; but as a Hindoo state succeeded that of the Mahomedans, the Deshmookhs never had the assurance to attempt to impose upon their own nation, by pretending to rights such as were so precipitately granted to the same class of people by the British government in Bengal, under the permanent revenue settlement, which is aptly named the Zumeen-

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other persons on whom *wutun* has been conferred agreeably to the king's promise, should he succeed in establishing his independence, or, in the words of the petition, on his mounting the throne. I am inclined to suppose, from several specimens I have examined, that these firmans were forgeries, founded on an incorrect but popular Mahomedan opinion, and intended to impose upon the kings of Beejapoor, or rather the agents of that state. Their preservation in the hands of those holding the office is a proof that they gained their end. The Deshmookhs, however, are certainly of much greater antiquity than has been supposed by some men of great research, in other matters connected with revenue. Mr. Grant, for one, in his Political Analysis, fixes the date of the original institution in A. D. 1582, during the reign of Akber.

One surmise in support of the antiquity of Deshmookhs and Dessaees is that of the Ceylon Dessauvas. I do not offer it as a conjecture of their having originated in that island; but any Bramin in Maharashtra, can tell, that Himadh Punt, the famous physician who cured Bibeshun the brother of Rawun, introduced the art of writing the Morh character, and several other hints useful to his countrymen, from the Rakshush, or Demons of Lunka.

daree system, to distinguish it from all other schemes or systems ever known in India.

But, whatever may have been the origin of these officers, the confirming, or withholding of their rights, as far back as we have any authentic trace, has always been a strong political instrument in the hands of every prevailing power in Maharashtra; whether that power sprang from internal insurrection, or foreign conquest; and whether the Deshadikars were mere agents, or hereditary officers of Hindoo institution, there is no doubt, that previous to the Mahomedan conquest, they had in many instances obtained more or less power, with that gradual advance to independence which is conveyed in the appellations of Naik,* Polygar, and Raja, assumed by them according to circumstances.

This brief account of the establishments and institutions, will, it is hoped, prove useful to the reader, and his attention is now solicited to one short definition of some importance. All property, or shares of hereditary right in land, or in the district and village establishments, termed under the ancient Hindoo governments *writtee*, † is now best known throughout the Mahratta country, by the name of *wutun* ‡; and the holder of any such, enjoys what is considered very respectable, the appellation of *wutundar*.

These preliminary explanations being afforded,

* Naik means master. Naik was a common title of the Mahratta chiefs in the service of the Mahomedans.

† Writtee is a Sanscrit word signifying livelihood.

‡ Wutun is an Arabic word, which means one's native country, as explained in a former note.

we shall proceed to the period when the Mahomedans first invaded the Deccan. From that time the Mahrattas were quite lost sight of, and so little attention was paid to them, that in the seventeenth century when they started up from their native hills and plains, they were, to other nations, a new and almost unknown race of people. The object of this work is to endeavour to afford some information respecting the condition of the Mahrattas under the Mahomedan dynasties, and to trace more clearly than has yet been done, the rise, progress, decline, and fall of our predecessors in conquest, in India, whose power, it will be perceived, was gradually gaining strength before it found a head in the far-famed adventurer, Sivajee Bhonslay.

CHAP. I.

Conquest of the Deccan by the Mahomedans.—They cross the Nerbuddah, and penetrate to Deogurh.—Establish their Sovereignty.—Deogurh becomes the capital of the Mahomedan Empire in India, and its name changed to Doulutabad.—An insurrection—lays the foundation of an independent kingdom in the Deccan.—The Bahminee dynasty.—Its duration.—Condition of the Mahrattas during its existence.—Few insurrections of the Mahrattas against their Mahomedan rulers.—The dreadful famine, Doorga Dewee.—Districts depopulated.—Hill forts in possession of Polygars and robbers.—An expedition sent to restore order.—Dadoo Nursoo Kallay.—His revenue arrangements.—A second and a third expedition.—Treacherous massacre of the Mahomedan army by a Mahratta Raja.—Concan reduced, A. D. 1469.—*Decline of the Bahminee dynasty, and immediate causes which led to it.*

THE conquests of the Mahomedans in India were preceded by plundering incursions. They first passed the Attock * in the end of the tenth century, and three hundred years afterwards, eight thousand horse, headed by Alla-ud-Deen Khiljee, crossed the Nerbuddah, traversed Candeish, and suddenly appeared before Deogurh.

The reigning prince, a Mahratta, named Ramdeo Rao Jadow, after a slight attempt to defend the town, retired into the fort, and negotiated a treaty with Alla-ud-Deen, by which the Raja agreed to pay the invaders a considerable ransom, on condition of their retiring from his country. The

* The Mahomedans crossed the Lower Sinde before they penetrated by the Attock.

terms were concluded, and the Mahomedans about to fulfil the condition, when the son of the Raja, who had collected an army, advanced upon Deogurh. Without regard to the existing treaty, and contrary to the express injunctions of his father, he sent an insolent message to Alla-ud-Deen, which brought on an immediate action, and although at first doubtful, the result was, a complete defeat to the Hindoos.

After this event, the Raja had to pay dear for the treachery of his son. The demands of the exasperated conquerors were exorbitant; and the treasures of the kingdom, together with the cession of Elichpoor and its dependencies, was the price at which they agreed to abide by the former stipulation.

The riches and the fame thus acquired by Alla-ud-Deen, paved the way to his usurpation of the throne of Delhi. During his reign three great armies were sent into the Deccan under his favourite Mullik Kafoor, by which Telingana was overrun, the greater part of Maharashtra conquered, and the whole country plundered from the Nerbuddah to Cape Comorin.

The disorders, however, which broke out in different parts of the imperial territories during the latter years of the reign of Alla-ud-Deen, and the internal intrigues and commotions which prevailed in the court of Delhi for some years after his death, gave the natives of the Deccan an opportunity of re-establishing the Hindoo sovereignty, and of regaining possession of every part, except the fortress of Deogurh, which continued to hold out, until

the Emperor Mubarik advanced with a great army to its relief; on which, Hirpal Deo, and the other Rajas who assisted in the siege, hastily retired. But Hirpal Deo was pursued, taken, and inhumanly flayed alive by order of the Emperor.

In the reign of the Emperor Tughluk, a second insurrection in the Deccan was quelled by his son Yoonas, who carried his arms into the heart of Telingana, and finally reduced its capital, A. D. 1323.

A. D. 1323.

The conquest of Telingana and the capture of Warangole drove many of the chief inhabitants from their home: two of them, about twelve years after the conquest of their country, founded the city of Beejanujur, on the banks of the Toongbudara; which soon became the head of the most powerful state south of the Nerbuddah.*

Yoonas, after the successful termination of the war, returned in triumph to Delhi, where, in the year 1325, he succeeded his father, and ascended the throne under the name of Mohummud Tughluk Shah.

A. D. 1325.

This prince was the most accomplished scholar of his age; but as a ruler, he was cruel, rash, and speculative. Two years after he had ascended the throne, the Moghuls advanced in great force to the gates of Delhi, whence their retreat was purchased at an enormous expence. The spoils of the Carnatic and the sack of Dhoor Summooder † were

* Wilks' Historical Sketches.

† Said by some to have been the capital of Bullal Deo, Raja of the Carnatic; and by others, to have been the principal sea port of his dominions, and situated in Toolava (Canara),

not sufficient in Mohummud's estimation to repair this loss. He adopted many absurd measures for replenishing his treasury, at the expence of public confidence and public credit. He planned an expedition into China, and lost an army in the attempt. He issued a copper coin at a nominal value equivalent to silver, without any security for the payment of such tokens; and he adopted the ruinous and cruel scheme of removing the whole population of Delhi to Deogurh, to which latter he gave the name of Doulutabad. This removal was enforced, and an imperial edict rendered Delhi desolate, distracted the minds of the people, and shook the empire to its centre.

Disturbances broke out in various parts of the kingdom, and the Emperor had scarcely quelled one insurrection when accounts of revolt in an opposite quarter were brought to him. An invasion of the Afghans, and a subsequent insurrection of some northern tribes, kept the imperial army employed at a distance from the new capital; and the deposed Raja of Warangole, aided by some troops of the Carnatic, waged a successful war against the Mahomedan invaders.

The Emperor was preparing a large army, with the design of completely subjugating the Deccan, when a rebellion broke out, which laid the foundation of the independent Mahomedan dynasties south of the Nerbuddah. This rebellion originated in the flight of some refractory nobles from Guzerat,

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but that its site and harbour are unknown, owing to the ebbing of the sea.

who had participated in a revolt that had just been quelled by the Emperor; and in dread of punishment, they sought refuge with Kutullugh Khan, the governor of Doulutabad, by whom they had been received, in hopes that time or circumstances might induce the emperor to overlook their misconduct. For affording this protection, the governor fell under the displeasure of Mohummud; he was removed from his government, and orders were sent to collect the fugitive nobles, to promise them pardon, and to conduct them to the imperial presence.

They proceeded, under the most solemn assurances of forgiveness, towards Guzerat, where the royal camp then was, but on approaching the confines of that province, some circumstances occurred which led them to suspect that treachery was intended; upon which they rose on their guard, killed the officer sent in charge of them, and erecting the standard of rebellion, marched back towards Doulutabad.

A.D. 1344.

They were joined by several Hindoo chiefs, disgusted with the tyranny of the emperor; and by the time they had reached Doulutabad, their numbers were so formidable, that the garrison were encouraged to declare for the insurgents; which they did, by confining their governor and delivering up the fortress.

It was now necessary to elect a head, and as there had been yet no individual sufficiently conspicuous for personal ability, their choice, in the meantime, rested on a commander of a thousand horse, named Ismael; and in this election they were

probably influenced by the hope that Mullik Moogh, the brother of Ismael, who commanded the imperial army in Malwa, would be drawn over to their party. The new king assumed the name of Nasir-ud-deen.

The Emperor Mohummud, on hearing of this formidable rebellion, marched from Guzerat with a large army; and on arriving near Doulutabad, he found the rebel forces drawn up to engage him—a severe action took place; and although indecisive, the imperial army remained masters of the field of battle.

The insurgents, not having obtained a first advantage, held a consultation, when it was resolved that Nasir-ud-deen should defend the fortress of Doulutabad; whilst the other chiefs, retiring to different districts, prosecuted a desultory warfare.

Amongst the rebel chiefs, particularly distinguished for bravery and conduct, was Zuffir Khan, who, from a very humble origin, had risen to high command, and was destined to be the founder of a race of kings.

The Emperor, on discovering the plans of the insurgents, immediately invested Doulutabad, and detached a force under Ummad-ool-Moolk Tebreezee, to pursue Zuffir Khan. The garrison was reduced to extremity, when information was received, that another insurrection had broken out at Delhi, which obliged the emperor to proceed thither, leaving the siege to be carried on by his officers. The Deccanees, encouraged by his departure, collected from all quarters to annoy the army before Doulutabad; which so alarmed the officers, that they hastily raised the siege, and re-

treated to the Nerbuddah, closely pursued, and constantly harassed by the Deccan cavalry.

Zuffir Khan, who was apprized of this turn in the affairs of his party, being at the head of twenty thousand horse, now advanced towards Ummad-ool-moolk Tebreezee, who, instead of continuing the pursuit, took post with his large army at Beder. This gave Zuffir Khan a great political advantage, which he judiciously improved, by merely showing that he was at the head of a party already capable of facing the imperial army, until he had induced the Raja of Telingana to detach fifteen thousand horse to his assistance, and had obtained a reinforcement of five thousand men from Doulutabad. He then attacked the imperialists; and after an obstinate and bloody battle, in which Ummad-ool-moolk was slain, victory declared in favour of Zuffir Khan. Detachments were immediately sent to occupy the country, whilst the main body marched in triumph towards Doulutabad. Nasir-ud-deen came out to meet Zuffir Khan; and observing the greater weight and ascendancy already acquired by his succesful general, he prudently assembled the nobles, and requesting their permission to resign his crown, recommended their electing Zuffir Khan to the government of the kingdom; a proposition which was at once applauded and acceded to.

Zuffir Khan was said to have been originally the slave of a Bramin, an inhabitant of Delhi, named Kangoh *, who, having discovered his merits, gave

* The story altogether, as detailed by Ferishta, bears the marks of tradition: an observation of no consequence in this

him liberty; and assisted, as well as foretold, his subsequent fortune. On being raised to empire, Zuffir Khan did not forget his protector: the Bramin was appointed to the charge of the treasury, and had the honor of giving the appellation of Bahminee to a dynasty of Patan kings. Zuffir Khan was recognized as sovereign in the year 1347, and assumed the title of Sultan Alla-ud-deen Hoossein Kangoh Bahminee.

A. D. 1347.

We have seen that this revolution was aided by the native princes of the Deccan, and from several circumstances in the conduct of the war, particularly the desultory plan adopted by the insurgents, which always requires the aid of the native inhabitants of any country, there is strong presumption of their having contributed more to its success, than the Mussulman historian was aware of, or, perhaps, was willing to allow. There are many recorded proofs of the new Sultan's prudence; but his wisdom is most conspicuous in the conciliatory measures he adopted for obtaining the entire possession of the districts which had been before subject to the Mahomedans, binding all classes of his new subjects to his interests, and gaining the friendship and support of the Raja of Warungole, in whom the Mahomedans had previously found, a watchful and implacable enemy.

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place; but it may be remarked, that all Bramins, now in the Deccan, holding the office of Qanoongo, which is similar to that of Deshpandya, are invariably called Kangoh, in the corrupt dialect of Maharashtra, and that even in Persian this corruption is found, spelt both with the kaf and qaf.

The death of the Emperor of Delhi, Mohummud Tughluk Shah, relieved the new Sultan from all apprehensions in that quarter. He very early employed the minds of the warlike and turbulent people over whom he ruled, by directing their attention to conquests in the Carnatic; and the subsequent rivalry with the Rajas of Beejanugur, probably preserved the kingdom of his successors from internal decay, for a much longer period than if they had been able to extend their conquests rapidly, or if their seditious armies had been left to the enjoyment of a mischievous repose. *

The Bahminee dynasty † may be said to have existed upwards of a century and a half; during

* The foregoing short abstract of Mahomedan history is almost entirely from Ferishta. Ferishta continues our best authority up to the beginning of the seventeenth century; but wherever I may adopt other authorities, I shall never intentionally omit mentioning them; as well in acknowledgment, as in proof.

† The names of the successors of Sultan Alla-ud-deen, with the dates of their reign, according to Ferishta, are as follow; the first Sultan having died in 1357, was succeeded by his son:—

2d Sultan, Mohummud Shah Bahminee, died in 1374, and was succeeded by his son.

3d Sultan, Mujahid Shah Bahminee was assassinated in 1377, by his uncle and successor.

4th Sultan, Daood Shah Bahminee only reigned about one month, when he was assassinated, at the instigation of Roopurwur Agah, and was succeeded by

5th Sultan, Mahmood Shah Bahminee, a younger son of the first sultan, died in 1396, and was succeeded by his son,

6th Sultan, Ghazee-ud-deen Shah Bahminee, who reigned one month and twenty days, when he was assassin-

that period, we may learn something of the condition of the Mahrattas from Mahomedan history; and a few circumstances may be gleaned from the legends (or *Bukers*,) which are found in possession of most of the descendants of the old Mahratta families.

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ated by Lallcheen, a Turkish slave, and succeeded by his brother.

7th Sultan, Shumse-ud-deen Shah Bahminee was dethroned, after a reign of less than six months, and succeeded by the son of Daood Shah Bahminee.

8th Sultan, Firoze, (Rozi Ufzoon) Shah Bahminee, died in 1422, and was succeeded by his brother,

9th Sultan, Ahmed Shah Wullee Bahminee died in 1434, and was succeeded by his son,

10th Sultan, Alla-ud-deen (the II.) Shah Bahminee died in 1457, and was succeeded by his son,

11th Sultan, Humaioon Shah Bahminee, commonly called Zalim, or the tyrant, who died the victim of passion and cruelty in 1460, and was succeeded by his son,

12th Sultan, Nizam Shah Bahminee died in 1462, and was succeeded by his brother,

13th Sultan, Mohummud Shah Bahminee, who died in 1482, and was succeeded by his son,

14th Sultan, Mahmood Shah Bahminee, who died in 1518, and his son,

15th Sultan, Ahmed Shah Bahminee was his nominal successor, who died two years afterwards, or in 1520, and to fill his place,

16th Sultan, Alla-ud-deen (III.) was set up as successor, but was afterwards strictly confined in 1526, when Kulleem Oolla Bahminee was the last on whom the title was conferred, and with him ended the Bahminee dynasty.

It has already been stated, that the country, at the period of the Mahomedan conquest, appears to have deen divided into many small principalities, more or less independent. It is probable, that most of those Polygars, whose country lay in the accessible parts, were induced either to join or to submit to the head of the new state in 1347, which is the date assigned* to the accession of Sultan Alla-ud-deen.

* There are, at present, four eras used in the Mahratta country, besides the Christian: viz. 1. the *Shalivahan;* 2. the *Soorsun*, or Arabic year; 3. the *Fusslee* year; and 4. the *Raj-Abishik*, or from the date of Sivajee's ascending the throne.

The Hindoo day and night contain sixty *Ghutkas*, commencing from the time of the morning when objects at hand are discernible; therefore, the name of the day, by this method, will not always be the same as with us; for our Sunday morning at 1, 2, or 3 A.M., would be the latter part of their Saturday.

The *Mirg*, or cultivator's year, always commences in the beginning of our month of June, corresponding with the end of the Hindoo month, *Weyshak*, or beginning of *Jesht*. Although the Hindoo year is lunar, it is adjusted to the solar time, by the intervention of the *Adheek Muheenu*, or intercalary month, being one month counted twice over, in every fourth year; and again further corrected by throwing out one month from one year in every three cycles, of 60 years each, or 180 years. The month thrown out is termed *Kshy-mas*, or the deficient month.

By calculation, it appears that the Soorsun, (generally written Shuhoorsun by the Mussulmans,) was introduced on the Mirg, in Heejree 745, which corresponds with A.D. 1344-45; and hence it would appear, that it must have originated with Mohummud Tughluk Shah. It was much more like his character, than that of the emperor Akber, to introduce so useless an innovation; but it was in the reign of Akber that the Fusslee era commenced to the north of the Nerbuddah, and it was introduced into the Deccan by his grandson, Shah

The new Sultan was obliged, from his situation, to conciliate the people of the country, and he either bestowed hereditary lands and immunities on the leading men, or confirmed them in those they already enjoyed, as Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas. He likewise appears to have conferred some subordinate military rank on a few of the chiefs,* and to have appropriated lands in Jagger for the maintenance of small bodies of horse; but such lands seem to have always been within the jurisdiction of some greater Mahomedan Jagheerdar, himself subordinate to the governor of a great province. By such means did the Sultan bind the natives of the country to his interest. He had obtained possession of almost the whole of Maharashtra, except the Conçan-Ghaut-Mahta from the Poorundhur range of hills to the Hurnkassee river, which, together with the coast from Dabul to Cape Ramas, was not entirely conquered by the Mahomedans for upwards of a century after the establishment of the Deccan monarchy. There were

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Jehan, in the year of the Heejree, 1047, or A.D. 1637-38. The Soorsun and Fusslee eras are merely solar years, setting out with the date of the year of the Heejree when they commenced, but without making allowance, in future reckoning for the difference between the solar and lunar years; by which means they differ rather more than three years every century. Both the Soorsun and Fusslee are called Mirg, or the husbandman's year, from their commencing at the season when the fields begin to be sown.

* Hurnak Pohl and Kam Raje Ghatkay had small Munsubs offrom two to three hundred horse; there were others but t heir names are not known — Mahratta MSS.

very few insurrections occasioned by the natives of the country against their Mahomedan rulers: the first took place during the reign of Sultan Mohummud Shah, about the year 1366, or after his return from his first expedition to the Carnatic. The insurrection alluded to, was headed by one of his own officers, named Bahram Khan Muzenderanee. The circumstances which gave rise to it were the report of the Sultan's death, and the absence of the troops from Doulutabad upon the Carnatic expedition. Bahram Khan was incited to this rebellion by a Mahratta chief, named Jadow *, who was probably a relation, or a descendant of the ancient rajas, as he is termed chief of the Naiks, and the Jadows are still Deshmookhs in that part of the country. The insurgents were joined by the Raja of Buglana; whilst other chiefs in Berar, with true Mahratta policy, secretly sent reinforcements of troops. Bahram Khan seized on all the collections he could obtain, and the greater part of the district, which, from the time of Kafoor, appears to have got the name of Maharasht †, fell into his hands.

A.D. 1366.

* In Scott's Translation it is Geodeo. In some copies of Ferishta it is Govind deo; but Ferishta says the chief of the Naiks was a descendant of the Raja of Deogurh. Ram deo Rao Jadow was the Raja of Deogurh, according to all Hindoo MSS., and it is not improbable that this chief's name may have been Govind deo Jadow.

† This name has given rise to conjectures; it was probably some small tract, about where Dhoolia now is, in Candeish, in the possession of some Mahratta Polygar. It is not such a

Mohummud Shah sent remonstrances, and from a personal regard for Bahram Khan, offered him the most favourable terms; but as he was under Mahratta influence, he did not comply with the Sultan's offers. The insurgents marched to Pyetun, where they collected a great crowd of needy adventurers, such as appear to have at all times swarmed in the Deccan.

The advanced force, which composed the bulk of the Sultan's army, was commanded by Musnud Ali Khan Mohummud, a veteran officer, who not choosing to engage hastily, halted at Sewgaom, a few miles from Pyetun. When encamped there, Bahram Khan made an attempt to surprise him; but on finding Musnud Ali on his guard, he injudiciously returned to his own lines, thus showing the enemy his weakness, and leaving his own troops to suppose that their chief was doubtful of the result of an equal engagement. The consequence was, of course, fatal. Musnud Ali immediately prepared to attack him, and sent intelligence to the Sultan, who was hunting among the hills in rear of the army, that he was about to engage the rebels. The Sultan immediately galloped forward and joined his troops just as the battle was about to commence. The news of his arrival quelled the insurrection. The Raja of Buglana instantly fled, and the others followed;

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misnomer as Europeans have been guilty of in calling Toolava, Canara, though both names are to be accounted for in a similar manner. — See *Wilks*, vol. i.

Bahram Khan and Jadow first sought refuge in Doulutabad, and afterwards in Guzerat, beyond the pursuit of their enemies. This was the only insurrection of any consequence in Maharashtra up to the period when the Bahminee dynasty began to decline, when some of the garrisons, composed of Mahrattas, took an opportunity of throwing off their allegiance. *

A. D. 1396. In 1396, the dreadful famine, distinguished from all others by the name of the *Doorga Dewee*, commenced in Maharashtra. It lasted, according to Hindoo legends, for twelve years. At the end of that time, the periodical rains returned; but whole districts were entirely depopulated, and a very scanty revenue was obtained from the territory between the Godavery and Kistna for upwards of thirty years afterwards. The hill forts, and strong places, previously conquered by the Mahomedans, had fallen into the hands of Polygars and robbers; and the returning cultivators were driven from their villages. †

A. D. 1429. An army was sent in the year 1429, in the reign of Sultan Ahmed Shah Wullee Bahminee, to extirpate the banditti, to give security to the people, and to restore order in the country. This expedition was commanded by Mullik-ool-Tijar, who was accompanied by the hereditary Deshmookhs of the districts, wherever they remained, and an experienced Bramin named Dadoo Nursoo Kallay. Their first operations were

* Ferishta.

† Mahratta MSS., and a Firman in possession of one of the Waee Deshmookhs.

against some Ramoosees in Kuttao Des, and a body of banditti that infested the Mahadeo hills.* The army next marched towards Waee, reduced several forts, and even descended into the Concan †; but Mullik-ool-Tijar appears, on this occasion, to have crossed the Ghauts, without penetrating into the fastnesses of the mountains on either side. On his return to Beder, Dadoo Nursay, and a Turkish eunuch of the court, were left to arrange the country, and recal the inhabitants. ‡ As the former boundaries of villages were forgotten, Dadoo Nursay, in fixing new limits, extended them very much, and threw two or three villages into one. Lands were given to all who would cultivate them: for the first year, no rent was required; and for the second, a *tobra* § full of grain for each *Beega* ‖ was all that was demanded. But the result of this expedition was a mere temporary relief from the heavy contributions which the banditti of the Ghaut-Mahta were in the habit of exacting; and it soon appeared, that there could be no effectual

* Mahratta MSS.

† Ferishta.

‡ From Kallay's surname, which sounds like Kala (black), these two are said to have been called the black and white eunuchs. Kala Khojeh and Gora Khojeh. European Turks early found their way to the Mahomedan court in the Deccan.

§ A tobra is a leather bag used to feed horses, by putting in the grain, and tying it on the mouth by a thong which passes over the horse's head like a head stall, and is fastened by putting it through a running noose on one side of the tobra. It is a part of the accoutrements of every Mahratta horseman.

‖ A Beega, according to the present measurement, approaches to within 1-15th of an acre; under some of the Mahomedan states, it was much smaller.

security afforded to the villages, until the whole of the hill forts should be reduced. *

A. D. 1436. A second expedition was sent in 1436, under Dilawur Khan; but little having been effected by him, a third was prepared under the command of Mullik-ool-Tijar, in the reign of Sultan Alla-ud-deen (the 2d) Bahminee, and during the administration of Meamun Oolla Deccanee, who formed a plan of reducing not only the hill forts in the Syhadree range, but likewise the unsubdued part of the Concan to the southward of Dabul.

Mullik-ool-Tijar, having undertaken the conduct of the war, marched at the head of a choice body of troops, the flower of the Deccan army. This officer began on a systematic plan of conquering and regulating the country to be subdued. He established his head quarters at Chakun †, and raised a fort near the city of Joonere. Thence he sent out detachments, at different times, into the Concan, and reduced several rajas to subjection. At length he

* Mahratta MSS.

† Chakun is a small fort eighteen miles north from Poona. It is nearly square, with towers at the angles and centres of the faces; it has a good ditch about thirty feet wide, and fifteen deep, but wet on the north side only; the walls are high, the parapet and rampart narrow, and the towers confined. There is but one entrance into the body of the place through five or six gateways; and there is a mud outwork which also has a ditch. I mention it particularly on account of its reputed antiquity; for, although it probably is the fort built by Mullik-ool-Tijar, according to concurring Hindoo legends, it was constructed by an Abyssinian Polygar A. D. 1295. As to how he got there, they do not pretend to account.

moved in person to that part of the country, and laid siege to a fort, the raja of which was obliged to deliver himself up with all his family.

This raja's surname was Sirkay; and he was, without doubt, a descendant of that Polygar who obtained possession of the range of country about the source of the Kistna, after the raja of Panalla was conquered in the beginning of the 13th century, by the Raja Singin.

Mullik-ool-Tijar insisted on the raja's renouncing his own faith, and embracing the tenets of the Koran. The enraged, but subtle raja, with the true policy of a Mahratta, when he intends deadly vengeance, humbly represented that there existed between him and the Raja of Singur *, a fort in the territory of Kondan †, a family competition and rivalry, and that they were near relations; that should he embrace the Mahomedan faith, and the Raja of Kondan remain in power without the loss of his cast, he should become obnoxious to his subjects, and that his rival would excite rebellion and triumph over him. He, therefore, proposed, that Kondan should first be taken, and bestowed on himself, or one of his relations, when he promised not only to embrace the faith of Islam, but to remit an annual tribute to the Sultan, and assist in

* Mahratta MSS.

† Probably the fort of Singurh, eight miles south of Poona. It was called Kondaneh by the Mahomedans, but afterwards, by Sivajee, changed to Singurh. In Scott's Translation it is written Kelneh. Kelneh is the modern Vishalgurh, and certainly lies in a situation much more resembling the description of the country, as given by Ferishta, than Singurh.

controlling all those rajas that might hereafter fail in their allegiance.

This proposal was blindly acceded to. The troops marched, were drawn into an ambuscade, treacherously beset in the night, and nearly seven thousand Mahomedans, together with their general, when buried in sleep, were inhumanly massacred by the Mahrattas. The remainder of the Sultan's army retreated; the Sirkay family regained possession of their country, and for a period of nearly sixteen years, no further attempt was made to follow up the plan of Meamun Oolla Deccanee.

A. D. 1453.

It is not known at what period Goa came into the possession of the rajas of Beejanugur; but it was taken from them A. D. 1469, when Khajeh Jehan Gawan, in the reign of Mohummud Shah, undertook an expedition which terminated in the capture of Goa, and the complete subjugation of the whole of that strong country, which is included in the south-west corner of Maharashtra.

A. D. 1469.

The tract, so reduced, remained but a very short time under the sovereigns of the Bahminee dynasty. The structure that had been founded and reared by Alla-ud-deen, continued to be built up by his successors; but the pile soon became too lofty to sustain its own weight without a broader basis; and the great addition of territory to the estward, which was acquired by the victories of Mohummud Shah over the Raja of Orissa, brought on a crisis which could only terminate in reform or revolution.

A. D. 1526. The date of the extinction of the dynasty is 1526; but long before that period, there were, in fact, five separate states under Mahomedan kings in the Deccan. *1. Edil Shahee, or Beejapoor; 2. Kootub Shahee, Golcondah, or Hyderabad; 3. Ummad Shahee, or Berar; 4. Nizam Shahee, or Ahmednugur; and, 5. Bureed Shahee, or Ahmedabad Beder. Of these five independent states, which sprang from the dismemberment of the first Mahomedan kingdom, only three existed at the period when the Mahratta people began to emerge from subjugation, and to be conspicuous as actors in the affairs of India.

The history of these Mahomedan kingdoms, as far as regards the detail of events, is already accessible to the public * up to the commencement of the seventeenth century; but the immediate cause of the downfal of the Bahminee dynasty, and a brief notice of the origin and progress of the states alluded to, are connected with our subject, and must be introduced as conducive to perspicuity.

At the period of the first Sultan's death in 1357, the dominion of the Mahomedans in the Deccan extended over almost the whole of Maharashtra: a small portion of Telingana, together with Raichore and Moodgul in the Carnatic, were also in their possession. When Mohummud Shah Bahminee succeeded to the throne, one of his first arrangements was to divide his country into four parts, which he termed Turufs; and to each he appointed a governor, who was styled Turufdar.

* Scott's Translation of Ferishta.

In the course of one hundred and thirty years, the territory had been greatly increased by conquests from the neighbouring rajas of Beejanugur, Telingana, the Concan Polygars, the Raja of Orissa, and others,—the governments of all, except Beejanugur, having been almost entirely subverted; but the original four divisions, subject to the defects attendant on old establishments never revised, had been so greatly enlarged, that the governors became too powerful to be either controlled or superintended. Under such circumstances, the application of a remedy is very difficult.

A.D. 1478. About the year 1478, an attempt was made by Khajeh Jehan Gawan, the able minister of Mohummud Shah, to divide the authority, and to preserve a due insight into the affairs of each province. His plan will be best understood by shewing the original divisions of the kingdom, and the new subdivisions which he projected. The names of the governors appointed to each are added; and this abstract is recommended to the particular attention of the reader.

Old Divisions. *New Divisions.*

1st. *Kulburga*—of which, as of all the rest, two governments were formed:—

1st. Beejapoor—with many districts as far as the Beema, and including Raichore and Moodgul. To this Khajeh Jehan Gawan was himself appointed.

2d. Ahsunabad—which included Kulburga and Sugger, Nuldroog, and Sholapoor. and was

Old Divisions.	*New Divisions.*	
		placed in charge of the Abyssinian eunuch, Dustoor Deenar.
2d. *Doulutabad*—	3d. Doulutabad.—	of which Eusoof Adil Khan Sawee was appointed governor.
	4th. Joonere—	with the Concan, and the districts as far south as Goa and Belgaom, were conferred on Fukhir Ool Moolk.
3d. *Telingana.*—	5th. Rajamundree.—	Mausulipatam, Pilcondah, Oureah, and other places were held in the name of Nizam-Ool-Moolk Byheree.
	6th. Warungole—	was given in charge to Azim Khan.
4th. *Berar.*	7th. Gawel—	was placed under Futtih Oolla Ummad Ool Moolk.
	8th. Mahoor.—	Under the Abyssinian Khodawund Khan.

In order to preserve an insight into the affairs of these governments, the revenues of several places, in each of the eight divisions, were reserved for the Sultan's private expenses, and particular collectors appointed to manage them.

Had these measures been steadily superintended for any length of time, a due ascendancy in the head of the state might long have been preserved; but Khajeh Jehan's influence could not withstand the malice of his enemies, by whom a conspiracy was formed against his life: he was falsely accused by them, and rashly and wrongfully put to death, by order of Mohummud Shah.

The evils against which his measures were calculated to provide, were hastened by this event. The chiefs, who had been the enemies of Khajeh Jehan, only remained with the Sultan, in hopes of enlarging their own power by the ruin of those who were the friends of the late minister. Nizam Ool Moolk Byheree was the person supposed to have laid the plan for the destruction of Khajeh Jehan. The origin and the career of Nizam Ool Moolk are remarkable: he was the son of a Bramin Koolkurnee of the town of Pathree*, and accompanied his father to the Carnatic during the prevalence of a famine at their native place. When residing in that country, the Bramin boy was taken prisoner by the Mahomedan troops, in one of the expeditions of Ahmed Shah Wullee Bahminee, and brought as a slave to that Sultan, by whom he was made a Mussulman, and named Mullik Hoossein. In the reign of Mohummud Shah, he was raised to the rank of Huzaree, or commander of a thousand horse, and by degrees attained high situations, till at length, by the recommendation of Khajeh Jehan, he was, with the title of Nizam Ool Moolk, appointed to the government of Telingana, a portion of which was assigned to him in Jagheer. Nizam Ool Moolk got his son Mullik Ahmed appointed his deputy in the provinces; whilst he himself remained with the Sultan, plotting the foul deed by which he cut off the benefactor that had raised him, and deprived the country which he served, of a man

* Situated in the district of the same name, north of the Godavery. Ferishta, Mahratta MSS., and Huqeequt-i-Hindoostan, a modern compendium by Luximon Narrain, of Hyderabad.

deservedly respected. But although his ambition was thus temporarily gratified, a worse fate was reserved for himself; he was, in the end, treacherously murdered by a wretch whom he had rescued from misery, and elevated to power.

After the death of Khajeh Jehan, the principal governors paid no respect to the authority of Mohummud Shah, and although some of them preserved a show of obedience, they gradually assumed independence.

Hence arose those kingdoms in the Deccan, the subjugation of which for a very long period employed the descendants of Timour, and during the struggle, the Mahomedans, whilst exhausting themselves, were gradually exciting that turbulent predatory spirit, which, though for ages smothered, was inherent in the Hindoo natives of Maharashtra; —in this manner, the contention of their conquerors stirred those latent embers, till, like the parched grass, kindled amid the forests of the Syhadree mountains, they burst forth in spreading flame, and men afar off wondered at the conflagration.

CHAP. II.

Five independent States arise from the dismembered monarchy, which afterwards form the three kingdoms of Ahmednugur, Beejapoor, and Golcondah. — The term Deccan as now used. — Review of events during the sixteenth century. — Forts garrisoned by Mahrattas. — Portuguese appear on the Malabar coast — on the shores of Maharashtra — they take Goa. — The King of Ahmednugur appoints a Bramin his Peishwa, or prime minister. — The King of Beejapoor likewise shows a preference for the natives of Mahrashtra. — Cavalry. — Sillidars and Bargeers. — Portuguese ravage the coast, and levy contributions. — Battle of Telikotta. — Beejanugur state subverted. — The Kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednugur attack the Portuguese without success. — Maharashtra, A. D. 1573, *possessed, with some exceptions, by Beejapoor and Ahmednugur. — Extent of the kingdoms of Beejapoor, Ahmednugur, and Golcondah. — Internal administration. — The Mahrattas under these states frequently opposed to each other. — The principal Mahratta families under Beejapoor and Ahmednugur — some account of each family — particularly that of Bhonslay. — The Moghul invasions, for the purpose of subjugating the Deccan states, had great influence on the rise of the Mahrattas. — State of the Deccan when the Emperor Akber projected its conquest — at his death,* A. D. 1605, *in possession of a part of the territory of Nizam Shah. — Mullik Umber — his Regency. — Lookhjee Jadow Rao. — Death of Mullik Umber, and of Ibrahim Adil Shah. — Shahjee Bhonslay. — Maharattas fast rising into consequence. — Accession of Mohummud Adil Shah. — Futih Khan succeeds his father. — Mullik Umber is confined by Mortiza Nizam Shah. — Murder of Lookhjee Jadow Rao. — Death of the Emperor Jehangeer, and accession of his son, Shah Jehan. — Khan Jehan Lodi, his rebellion and death. — Shahjee Bhonslay enters the Moghul service. — Alliance betwixt Mortiza Nizam Shah and the King of Beejapoor. — Army of Beejapoor defeated by the Moghuls. — Futih Khan murders Mortiza Nizam Shah. —*

negotiates with the Emperor —obtains some districts previously promised to Shahjee. — Shahjee in disgust joins the army of Beejapoor. — Futih Khan treacherously breaks with the Moghuls. — Siege and surrender of Doulutabad. — Moghuls repulsed before Purinda, and compelled to retreat to Burhanpoor — Shahjee's regency. — Shah Jehan's policy. — War with Beejapoor — peace concluded — terms. — Shahjee maintains a desultory warfare — is at last compelled to yield, and enter the service of Beejapoor. — End of the Byheree dynasty.

A. D. 1478. By the distribution of the governments under the administration of Khajeh Jehan Gawan, Eusoof Adil Khan Sawee was, as we have mentioned in the foregoing chapter, appointed to Doulutabad; but upon the death of that minister, who had been his patron and intimate friend, Adil Khan was removed to the government of Beejapoor, where several circumstances combined to strengthen his power; till, in A. D. 1489. the year 1489, he assumed the ensigns of royalty. Such was the origin of the kings of Beejapoor, well known by their Deccan appellation of the Edil Shahee dynasty. *

The first prince of Ahmednugur, the founder of the Nizam Shahee or Byheree † dynasty, was Mullik Ahmed, the son of that Nizam Ool Moolk Byheree, stigmatized as the principal instigator in the murder of Khajeh Jehan Gawan.

* The Moghuls never acknowledged their title to Shah (that is, king); and, therefore, in all Moghul writings, the sovereigns of Beejapoor are only mentioned by the name of Adil Khan.

† One of the situations by which Nizam Ool Moolk ascended to power, was that of having charge of the royal falconry; the Byheree being a species of hawk much used in the Deccan, he obtained the name of Byheree from that circumstance.

Nizam Ool Moolk having succeeded to the office of the deceased minister, and having, by the will of Mohummud Shah, become prime minister to his son, Sultan Mhamood, obtained Bheer and other districts, in addition to his former extensive Jagheer; and Mullik Ahmed, who had been his father's deputy in the lately acquired territory of Rajamundree and Oureah, being recalled thence, was sent to the northward, and appears to have held a general charge of the territory, comprehended in the districts of Doulutabad and Joonere by the arrangements of 1478.

When his father, Nizam Ool Moolk, was murdered, Mullik Ahmed rebelled; and, having assumed independence, defied all the efforts of Mhamood Shah Bahminee to reduce him.

A.D. 1512. Kootub Ool Moolk, Turufdar of Telingana, to which government he was appointed in the year 1495, styled himself sultan, and mounted the throne of Golcondah in 1512, under the title of Kootub Shah.

The founder of the Berar state was Futih Oolla Ummad Ool Moolk, governor of that province. The Ummad Shahee dynasty lasted till 1574, when Berar was conquered and annexed to the territory of Ahmednugur, by Mortiza Nizam Shah the first.

The Bureed Shahee dynasty lasted a still shorter period than the Ummad Shahee. The sovereignty was founded by Umeer Bureed, whose influence was obtained by his control over the king's person; the territory he possessed never extended beyond Beder, Kulburga, and a few of the adjoining dis-

tricts, the greater part was afterwards annexed to Beejapoor.

The three states, therefore, more immediately connected with our subject, are those of Beejapoor, Ahmednugur, and Golcondah. *

* A list of the princes of each dynasty, with the dates of their reign up to end of the sixteenth century, is as follows :

Beejapoor Edil Shahee.	Ahmednugur Nizam Shahee, or Byheree Dynasty.	Golcondah, or Kootub Shahee.
1st. Sultan Eusoof Adil Shah, assumed independence in ... 1489. Died in ... 1510.	1st. Mullik Ahmed, under the title of Ahmed Nizam Ool Moolk Byheree assumed independence about 1487, and died in ... 1508.	1st. Sultan Kootub Ool Moolk assumed independence in ... 1512; and was assassinated in ... 1551.
2d. Sultan Ismael Adil Shah succeeded his father, and died in 1554.	2d. Sultan Boorahan Nizam Shah succeeded his father, and died in 1553.	2d. Sultan Jumsheed succeeded his father, and after a short reign of seven months was succeeded by his brother.
3d. Sultan Mulloo Adil Shah, succeeded his father, and was deposed in 1555.	3d. Sultan Hoossein Nizam Shah succeeded his father, and died in 1565.	3d. Sultan Ibrahim Kootub Shah, who died in the year ... 1581
4th. Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah, succeeded his brother, and died in 1557,	4th. Sultan Mortiza Nizam Shah, succeeded his father, and was put to death in ... 1587 by his son and successor.	4th. Sultan Mohummud Koolee Kootub Shah, succeeded his father, and was succeeded by his brother.
5th. Sultan Ali Adil Shah succeeded his father, and was murdered in 1580.	5th. Sultan Meeran Hoossein Nizam Shah, who was, after a reign of two months, put to death... 1587.	5th. Sultan Abdoollah Kootub Shah.
6th. Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah succeeded his father.	6th. Sultan Ismael Nizam Shah, the cousin of Meeran Hoossein, was raised to the throne, but deposed by his father.	
	7th. Sultan Boorahan Nizam Shah, (the second) who died in ... 1591.	

But before proceeding further, it is fit to apprize the reader, that the term Deccan, as at present used by all classes, is different from the ancient Hindoo signification, which, we have seen, included the whole tract of the five grand divisions of the Indian peninsula. Europeans have adopted the Mahomedan definition; and the modern Deccan comprises most of Telingana, part of Gondwaneh, and that large portion of Maharashtra which is above the western range of Ghauts, and which extends from the Nerbuddah to the Kistna.

We shall now take a brief review of events during the sixteenth century, and of the state of the country and its inhabitants during that period.

On the appointment of Mullik Ahmed to his government of Doulutabad and Joonere, in the year 1485, he found the Mahrattas, who garrisoned the hill forts, in a state of revolt; and was obliged to besiege and take the whole of the forts about Poona, including Kondaneh * and Loghur, and also many in the Concan, as far as Dhunda Rajepoor, which was about the southern extremity of the Ahmednugur territory.

A.D. 1485.

The pretence set up by the Mahrattas for refusing to surrender the forts, was the minority of Mahmood Shah; but they were, perhaps, induced to hold out, at the instigation of some of the factions, which then agitated the court of Beder.

Early in the sixteenth century a new power appeared, which took some share in the events which

† Or Singurh, as already noticed.

followed. The Portuguese, under the celebrated Vasco de Gama, had made their appear-
A.D. 1498. ance in May 1498, at the town of Calicut in Kerala, or Malabar. In 1507, in an engagement fought at Choule*, by Lorenzo, the son of Francisco de Almeyda, against the fleet of the Soldan of Egypt, the Portuguese cannon were first heard on the shores of Maharashtra. Choule then belonged to Ahmednugur, and the country of Mullik Nizam Ool Moolk Byheree seems to have been the only one to which the ravages of Portuguese piracy did not extend. They maintained a friendly intercourse, for a good many years, with the king of Ahmednugur.

On the 30th December 1508, the Portu-
A.D. 1508. guese fleet entered the river of Dabul, and the viceroy, Francisco de Almeyda, who commanded in person, having landed his men, took, plundered, and burnt the town. But the first territory of which the Portuguese obtained possession in Maharashtra, was the important island on which stands the city of Goa, and which belonged to the territory of Beejapoor.

The attack on Goa was suggested to Alphonzo de Albuqerque, by the Hindoo pirate, Timmojee, a native of Toolava.† Goa was surprised, and surrendered on the 27th February 1510‡, but was retaken, a few months afterwards, by Eusoof Adil Shah in person.§ It was, however, again attacked

* De Faria.

† Commonly termed by Europeans, Canara.

‡ De Faria. § Ferishta.

in the fair season, and finally conquered by
A.D. 1510. Albuqerque on the 25th November 1510, * since which time it has remained in possession of the Portuguese.

About the year 1529, it is particularly
A.D. 1529. deserving of notice, that Boorahan Nizam Shah bestowed the office of *Peishwa*, or prime minister, on a Bramin, whose name, according to Ferishta, was Kawerseen; and from that period Hindoos acquired great influence in the Nizam Shahee government. Ibrahim Adil Shah, upon his accession to the throne of Beejapoor, in 1555, likewise shewed a great preference for the natives of Maharashtra, both as men of business and as soldiers. He discontinued keeping the accounts in Persian, for which he substituted Mahratta, though deeds of importance were written in both languages. † This regulation, of course, tended to increase the power and consequence of Mahratta Bramins. Ibrahim Adil Shah likewise disbanded most of the foreign troops, and displaced many of the foreign nobility. He entertained thirty thousand Deccan cavalry, and introduced the practice of enlisting *Bargeers* ‡, men who are supplied with a horse by the state or by individuals, instead of *Sillidars*, who provide a horse at their own expense. §

In 1532, the Portuguese made a descent
A.D. 1532. upon the coast, burnt the whole of the towns from Chicklee-Tarapoor to Bassein, destroy-

* De Faria. † Old deeds. ‡ Ferishta.

§ A Sillidar is much more respectable than a Bargeer; he is considered in the Mahratta country a sort of gentleman cavalier.

ed some fortifications newly erected there, and levied contributions from Tannah and Bombay. Two years afterwards, they took Damaun, and obliged Sultan Buhadur, of Guzerat, then hard pressed by the Emperor Humaioon, to cede Bassein in perpetuity; to grant permission to build a fort at Diu, and to invest them with the right of levying duties on the trade with the Red Sea, for which they promised to assist him against the Moghuls. *

A. D. 1548. Their operations in Guzerat, and in other quarters, occupied the attention of the Portuguese for some years; but, in 1548, they committed great havoc on the coast of the Beejapoor dominions, having destroyed, with fire and sword, the whole of the towns from the neighbourhood of Goa to Bancoote. † They were invited to become parties in a plan for deposing Ibrahim Adil Shah, and placing upon the throne his brother Abdoollah, who was then residing at Goa, under their protection; but the attempt was abandoned ‡.

The decisive battle at Telikotta §, or, as it is termed in Mahratta manuscripts, *Rakshitta Gundee*, which subverted the Beejanugur state, was fought by the confederate Mahomedan powers of the Deccan, against the Hindoo army of

A. D. 1564. the Carnatic, in the year 1564. Jealousy among the allied sultans prevented the kingdom of Canara from being totally annihilated.

* De Faria. † De Faria. ‡ Ferishta.

§ I follow the usual designation of that battle; but it was probably fought at some village opposite to Telikotta, across the Kistna, and consequently sixteen miles south of the modern Telikotta.

The brother of Ram Raja was allowed to retain a considerable sovereignty; but the government never recovered itself, and the Deshmookhs, or Zumeendars, took advantage of its weakness to establish their own independence. *

A.D. 1571. In 1571 there was a combined attack made upon the Portuguese by the Beejapoor and Ahmednugur kings. Ali Adil Shah besieged Goa, and sustained a very mortifying repulse †; but the defence of Choule, which was besieged by Mortiza Nizam Shah, and was defended by Luis Ferara de Andrada, reflected particular credit on the Portuguese, and, as is generally the case where a native army is defeated, the Mahomedans attributed their want of success to treachery. ‡

Ferishta says, the officers of Nizam Shah were corrupted, principally by presents of wine. Both monarchs desisted from their attacks in August of the same year, when Ali Adil Shah's arms were turned against some of the Rajas in the Carnatic, and in reducing them, he was more successful.

A.D. 1573. In 1573 Maharashtra was subject to the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednugur; with the exceptions of a part of Candeish, which was held as an independent principality by the Sultan of Burhanpoor; the northern Concan, belonging to Guzerat; and the possessions of the Portuguese. The power of Beejanugur had been for ever humbled; and Berar and Beder were annexed to the dominions of their more powerful neighbours.

The three great Mahomedan states which di-

* Ferishta-Wilks. † De Faria, Cæsar Frederick.
‡ De Faria.

vided the Deccan at this period, may be here briefly and generally defined.

Beejapoor extended from the Neera to the Toongbuddra. The district of Adonee, and probably * Nundheal, south of that river, were in its possession. The coast from Bancoote to Cape Ramas, with the exception already adverted to, formed its western side; and on the east, the boundaries of its districts, Raichore, Eedgeer, Mulkair and Beder, divided it from the kingdom of Golcondah; Akulkote, Nuldroog, and Kallian became frontier provinces, and, like Sholapoor, situated between Ahmednugur and Beejapoor, were sometimes overrun by the troops of the one, and sometimes of the other.

Ahmednugur extended over the greater part of Berar, and the whole of what was afterwards comprehended in the Soobeh of Aurungabad. Galna, and some other districts in Candeish, and the district of Kaliannee, in the Concan, or from Bancoote to Bassein, were likewise subject to this state.

The kingdom of Golcondah extended from the territory of Beejapoor and Amednugur east as far as the opposite coast; but a part of the territory about Rajamundree, which had been originally conquered from the Raja of Orissa, continued to be governed by one of that Raja's descendants, by whom tribute having been with-

* I say probably, for the same reason that Colonel Wilks does, namely, that although included as one of the Moghul divisions of the Soobeh of Beejapoor, there is no positive evidence of its having been either taken or ceded to Beejapoor. Adonee was taken in 1567.

held, Ibrahim Kootub Shah was employed in establishing due authority in that quarter, and in settling his lately acquired districts in the Carnatic, whilst the sultans of Ahmednugur and Beejapoor were acting against the Portuguese, or extending their respective possessions in Berar and the Carnatic.

Under these governments, the country was divided into *Sirkars*, though not, perhaps, so regularly as by the subsequent arrangements of the Moghuls. The next division to a Sirkar, was known by the various and synonimous names of *Pergunna*, *Kuryat*, *Summut*, *Mahal*, and *Talooka*, and also by the Hindoo appellations, *Praunt* and *Desh*. Khora, Moora, and Mawul have been already described, as lands comprehended in the Concan-Ghaut-Mahta, and such parts, from having been generally intrusted to Hindoo management, continued to be known by their ancient appellations.

The revenues under all the Mahomedan states, seem generally to have been farmed out in small portions; in some parts of the country, by single villages. Where they were not farmed, the management appears to have been generally intrusted to Hindoo agency.* To collect the revenues so farmed, there were *Aumils* or agents on the part of government, who regulated the police, and settled civil suits; these last, in disputes relating to hereditary office or landed property, were decided by Pun-

* This is stated on the authority of many papers in possession of Deshpandyas, local inquiry amongst intelligent natives, and numerous circumstances throughout the country, as well as written documents in support of what the Deshpandyas adduce.

chayet. * In matters which regarded mere money transactions, it is probable that the aumils frequently gave decisions themselves. Under the Beejapoor state there was an aumildar who superintended the affairs of a considerable division, and to whom all other aumildars were subordinate. This officer was termed *Mokassadar* †; and it is conjectured that he had some percentage upon the revenues, but the amount is unknown. There are instances of mokassadars having held their situations for upwards of twenty years, and been succeeded by their sons ‡, but this was entirely optional with the Sultan. Some were removed in one year, and the mokassadar was not always a Mahomedan. There was frequently, but not always, an authority superior to the mokassadar, called a Soobeh: he did not reside constantly in the districts,

* Under the Beejapoor state, in cases of hereditary property where the government was a party, there were about fifteen persons assembled on the Punchayet. By some old writings I have seen, two thirds of these appear to have been Mahomedans, and one third Hindoos. With regard to the Ahmednugur state, I have not had the same opportunities of gaining information; but, that claims to hereditary property were settled by punchayet, the old papers in every district will prove.

† The origin of this name, as here used, is probably to be found in the Arabic word *Moqaita*, signifying the place of collecting the customs or revenue. The subsequent application of the word Mokassa by the Mahrattas, though, perhaps, taken from this source, is, like several of their revenue terms, more arbitrary than derivative.

‡ There is one instance where the situation remained in the same family for three generations. Mokrib Khan, Mokassadar of Kuttao, Kurar, &c. was succeeded by his son and grandson. —(Old written documents preserved by the Deshpandya's family, who managed his affairs.)

and took no share in the revenue management, although deeds, and formal writings of importance were made out in his name.

The condition of the Mahrattas, in the early part of those dynasties continued much the same as it had been under the Bahminee kings. The hill-forts seem generally to have been garrisoned by Mahrattas *: they were sometimes in the immediate pay of government, and sometimes in charge of the jagheerdars and district Deshmookhs: a few places of great strength were always reserved by the king, by whom the Killidars, or governors were appointed; but to this we shall again more particulary revert. A certain rank depending on the number of a body of horse under an individual's command, and which rank is termed by Mahomedans munsub, was frequently conferred on Mahratta chiefs †, and military jagheers, or lands given for the purpose of maintaining a body of troops, were granted for their support. The quota of troops, so furnished, was very small in proportion

* This may be gleaned from various parts of Ferishta; and by old papers in the possession of some of the Deshmookhs, it appears they were frequently intrusted with the care of the king's forts.

† The munsubs of the Deccan states, exactly corresponded with the number of horse, from which they took their rank. In the Moghul service, munsubdars of 10,000 might only hold command of half that number of horse. The munsubs of Mahomedans rarely, if ever, exceeded 10,000, even under the Moghul government, but Mahrattas in the service of the emperor had much higher munsubs; in one instance, a Mahratta chief, as will be hereafter observed, had a munsub of 24,000 conferred on him.

to the size of the jagheer. Phultun Desh, for which, in the time of the Mahratta Peishwas, three hundred and fifty horse were required, only furnished fifty to the Beejapoor government, at a very late period of that dynasty; but the Mahratta chiefs could procure horse at a short notice, and they were entertained or discharged at pleasure: a great convenience to a wasteful court, and an improvident government. Titles were conferred upon many of the Mahrattas, but under the Deccan dynasties, such titles were generally ancient Hindoo appellations. Raja, Naik, and Rao were the most common, and though bestowed by their Mahomedan conquerors, the distinction was always exceedingly gratifying to the Mahrattas, especially as they invariably obtained with the title, the means of supporting their new rank.

The Mahrattas are occasionly mentioned in Ferishta's history of the Edil Shahee kings, under the name of *Bergee*, by which they are scarcely known to Europeans. Bergee, or Burgay, was more frequently applied by the Mahomedans to the Naiks of the Carnatic; many natives of which, who cannot speak their own language, call themselves Mahrattas; but all the troops of the Mahratta Munsubdars were called Bergee; and in many parts of India they are still known by that name: it was used like the term *Baruh Bhaee* * of later

* Where any thing is disorganized, in the hands of many, or in a state of confusion, the Mahrattas use this phrase. Europeans, in designating any one body of horse by this appellation, misunderstand both its point and its meaning. The Bramins in-

date, as a contemptuous appellation, and perhaps originated with the foreign cavalry, when disbanded, to make room for Deccanees in the army of Beejapoor. They were always found particularly serviceable in stopping roads, and intercepting supplies, in hanging on the rear of a flying enemy, and in plundering and devastating a country.

A.D. 1578. In the year 1578, Ferishta mentions that excesses were committed by some of the Bergee chiefs in their jagheers in the Carnatic; and a considerable force was detached for the purpose of suppressing them; but, after a year of constant skirmishing, the officer sent against them stated the impossibility of making any impression on the Bergee horse; and the Sultan, Ali Adil Shah, with that treachery for which the Deccan has always been notorious, formed a scheme for drawing them into his power, and putting their chiefs to death. His instrument for this detestable purpose was a Bramin, named Vasoojee Punt, who succeeded in betraying most of them.

The Bergees, however, afterwards attended the standard of the Sultan's successor; and in the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah, we find them actively engaged in their usual mode of warfare, against the army of Nizam Shah.

The Mahrattas were naturally much more numerous in the armies of Beejapoor and Ahmednugur, as these kingdoms extended over almost the whole of Maharashtra, but some of them served in the army

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variably apply it to Mahratta affairs, of which they have not the sole management.

of Golcondah. Neither national sentiment, nor unity of language and religion, prevented their fighting against each other. Not only did Mahratta subjects of these governments stand in array opposed to each other, but the most active enmity was frequently evinced between members of the same family. They fought with rancour wherever individual dispute, or hereditary feuds existed, and that spirit of rivalry in families, which was fomented by the kings of the Bahminee dynasty *, was one means of keeping the Mahrattas poised against each other in the dynasties which succeeded them.

Some of the principal Mahratta chiefs, under the Beejapoor state, were, 1st. Chunder Rao Moray; 2d. Rao Naik Nimbalkur, called also Phultun Rao; 3rd. Joojhar Rao Ghatgay; 4th. Rao Manay; 5th. Ghorepuray; 6th. Duflay; 7th. Sawunt Buhadur, Deshmookh of Waree, &c.

Those under Ahmednugur were, 1st. Rao Jadow; 2d. Raja Bhonslay, and many others of less note.

In regard to the chiefs under Beejapoor, a person named Moray, originally a naik in the Carnatic, was appointed in the reign of Eusoof Adil Shah to the command of a body of 12,000 Hindoo infantry, sent for the purpose of reducing that strong tract which is situated between the Neera and the Warna rivers. In this enterprize Moray was successful; he dispossessed the descendants of the raja Sirkay, and completely suppressed the depredations of their abettors; the principal of whom were families named Goozur, Mamoolkur, Mohitey, and Maha-

* Papers respecting hereditary disputes in Mahratta families, Ghatgay's Buker, &c.

reek. Moray, for this service, was dignified with the title of Chunder Rao; and his son Yeswunt Rao, having distinguished himself in a battle fought near Purinda with the troops of Boorahan Nizam Shah, in which he captured a green flag, was confirmed in succession to his father as Raja of Jowlee, and had permission to use the standard he had won. Their posterity ruled in the same tract of country for seven generations; and by their mild and useful administration, that inhospitable region became extremely populous. All the successors of the first Moray assumed the title of Chunder Rao. The invariable submission manifested by this raja, probably induced the government to exact little more than a nominal tribute from districts producing so little, and which had always been in disorder under Mahomedan management.

Another principal chief, under the Beejapoor government, was the Naik of Phultun, whose title was Rao Naik Nimbalkur, or Phultun Rao. The original name of this family is said to have been Powar; the name Nimbalkur is derived from the village of Nimbalik, now called Nimluk, where his ancestor resided. The origin of his Deshmookhee claims, on Phultun Desh, is unknown: the family is considered one of the most ancient in Maharashtra. Nimbalkur was made sur-deshmookh of Phultun, before the middle of the seventeenth century, by the King of Beejapoor, as appears by original sunnuds of that date. The Deshmookh of Phultun is said to have become a Polygar, and to have withheld the revenues of the district repeatedly; but the exact periods are not ascertained.

Wungojee Naik, however, better known by the name of Jugpal, who lived in the early part of the seventeenth century, was notorious for his restless and predatory habits. The sister of Jugpal was the grandmother of the famous Sivajee. Nimbalkur never exchanged his ancient title of Naik * for that of Raja.

Joojhar Rao Deshmookh of Mullaoree, was chief of a powerful family of Ghatgays; their native country is Kuttao Desh, and is separated from that of the Nimbalkurs by the Mahdeo range of hills. The Ghatgays were Deshmookhs and Surdeshmookhs of the Pergunna of Maun, and their chief had a munsub under the Bahminee dynasty: they did not obtain the title of Surdeshmookh till the year 1626, when it was given to Nagojee Ghatgay, as an unconditional favour by Ibrahim Adil Shah, together with the title of Joojhar Rao. The amount of revenue payable to a Surdeshmookh † is not mentioned in any of the deeds of the Edil Shahee kings. The great ancestor of the family, Kam Raje Ghatgay, had a small munsub under the Bahminee dynasty. From that period till the present day, the Ghatgays have been notorious for their family feuds. They held Enam and Jagheer lands under the Beejapoor state, and served that govern-

* Naikwaree, which is now used to denominate a particular officer, a sort of hereditary land measurer on the village establishment, was formerly a title of respect, like the present *jee*, or as we would say Mr. Mahratta officers in charge of forts under the Beejapoor government are frequently termed Naikwaree in Persian MSS. and deeds.

† Aurungzebe allowed the old Surdeshmookhs 2 per cent., as appears by sunnuds of his time.

ment with a body of horse. Their Jagheer was immediately subject to the control of the Mokassadar.

The head of the Manay family was Deshmookh of Muswar, adjoining the district of the Ghatgays. The Manays were distinguished Sillidars under the Beejapoor government, but nearly as notorious for their revengeful character as the Sirkays.

The Ghorepurays were originally named Bhonslay; and their ancestor acquired the present surname, according to their family legend, during the Bahminee dynasty, from having been the first to scale a fort in the Concan, which was deemed impregnable, by fastening a cord round the body of a *ghorepur*, or guana. They were Deshmookhs under the Beejapoor government, and divided into two distinct families, the one of Kapsee, near the Warna river, the other of Moodhole, near the Gutpurba. * The Ghorepurays appear to have signalized themselves at a very early period. The title of Umeer Ool Oomrah, was conferred on one of the members of the Kapsee family, by the Beejapoor kings.

The Duflays were Deshmookhs of the Pergunna of Jhutt, not far from Beejapoor; their original name was Chowan, and they acquired the surname of Duflay, from their village of Duflapoor, of which

* The Kapseekur and Moodholekur were known under the Beejapoor government, the former by the *nowkus*, the latter by the *sathkus* Ghorepurays; a distinction which both families keep up, but for which they can give no satisfactory reason: the first Ghorepuray that joined Sivajee, was one of the former. The head of the latter is the Patell of a village near Satara.

they were hereditary Patells. They held a munsub, but no title from the Beejapoor kings.

The Sawunts were hereditary Deshmookhs of Waree, near Goa, and acquired the title of Buhadur from the kings of Beejapoor, during some of the wars against the Portuguese. Their original name was Bhonslay, and their chief is frequently, to this day, styled the Bhonslay. It is remarkable of their territory, that the ancient appellation of the family is preserved in our modern maps. * They were distinguished as commanders of infantry, a service best adapted to the country which they inhabited.

The principal Mahratta chiefs, in the service of the Ahmednugur state, was Jadow Rao, Deshmookh of Sindkheir, supposed with much probability, to have been a descendant of the Raja of Deogurh. No Mahratta family was so powerful as the Jadows. Lookhjee Jadow Rao, in the end of the sixteenth century, held a Jagheer, under the Nizam Shahee government, for the support of ten thousand horse.

There was, likewise, a respectable Mahratta family, surnamed Bhonslay, particularly connected with the history contained in the following pages, which first rose into notice under the Ahmednugur government. They are said to have held several Patellships; but their principal residence was at the village of Verole †, near Doulutabad. Babjee

* The ancient name of their country is Koodhal Desh, a subdivision of Gohurasht.

† It is the village close to the celebrated caves of Ellora, and from which they take their name.

Bhonslay had two sons, the elder named Mallojee; and the younger Wittoojee. Mallojee was early married to Deepa Bye, the sister of Wungojee, or Jugpal Rao Naik Nimbalkur, Deshmookh of Phultun. At the age of twenty-five, in the year A. D. 1577. 1577, by the interest of Lookhjee Jadow Rao, he was entertained in the service of Mortiza Nizam Shah, with a small party of horse, of which he was the proprietor. He had no children for many years, which is considered a great misfortune amongst Hindoos. He was a rigid votary of the deity Mahdeo, and the goddess Dewee Bhowanee, of Tooljapoor, was the Koolswamy of his family; but both deities had been invoked in vain to grant an heir. A celebrated Mahomedan saint or *peer*, named Shah Shureef, residing at Ahmednugur, was engaged to offer up prayers to this desirable end; and Mallojee's wife having shortly after given birth to a son, in gratitude to the peer's supposed benediction, the child was named after him, Shah, with the Mahratta adjunct of respect, *jee*; and in the ensuing year, a second son A. D. 1594. was in like manner named Shureefjee. Shahjee was born in 1594.

Mallojee Bhonslay was an active Sillidar, and had acquitted himself so well, in various duties intrusted to him, that he began to attain distinction. He had, by some means, made an addition to his small body of horse, and was always much noticed by his first patron Jadow Rao. His elder son Shahjee was a remarkably fine boy; and on the occasion of the celebration of the Hoolee A. D. 1599. festival in the year 1599, when Shahjee was five years old, he accompanied his father to

the house of Jadow Rao. It is usual for all casts of Hindoos to meet on that occasion, at the residence of some principal person, on the fifth day of the festival; and when there is any footing of intimacy, the children often accompany their fathers to the place of assembly. Shahjee, on this occasion, was noticed by Jadow Rao, who good naturedly called the boy towards him, and seated him beside his daughter named Jeejee, a pretty child of three or four years old. The children began to play together, when Jadow Rao, in the joy of his heart, thoughtlessly asked his daughter, "Well, girl, wilt thou take this boy as thy husband?" and turning round to the company, observed in the same strain, "they are a fine pair." The children, at this time, happening to throw some of the red colour at each other, which is a common amusement on this festival, the circumstance occasioned a great deal of laughter in the assembly. This mirth, however, was disturbed by Mallojee Bhonslay's rising up and saying, "take notice, friends, Jadow has this day become a contracting party with me in marriage;" to which some of those present assented; but Jadow seemed astonished, and was mute. Affecting to treat what had passed as a mere joke, Jadow Rao, next day, asked Mallojee to a dinner, but he declined the invitation, unless Jadow would formally recognize Shahjee as his son-in-law. This Jadow Rao peremptorily refused; and his wife being a proud woman of high spirit, was very indignant at his having, even in jest, matched her daughter with such a person as the son of Mallojee Bhonslay. Mallojee appears, however, to have been crafty and persevering, little scrupulous about

A.D. 1599.

the means employed, so that his end could be attained. He retired to his village, where it is pretended that the goddess Bhowanee, having appeared to him, discovered a large treasure; at all events he and his brother Wittoojee became possessed of money in some secret manner, which, in that troubled period of the Nizam Shahee government, during the first years of the seventeenth century, was probably by robbery. Their confidant, as to the fact of possessing the money, was a soucar or banker of Chumargoondee, named Seshao Naik Poonday, in whose hands the cash was deposited. But, according to Mahratta legend, the discovery of this treasure was merely a means which the goddess afforded to effect what she had, on first appearing, declared to Mallojee; namely, that "there shall be one of thy family who shall become a king: he shall be endowed with the qualities and attributes of Sambh *: he shall re-establish and preserve justice in Maharashtra, and remove all that molest Bramins, and violate the temples of the gods; his reign shall form an epoch, and his posterity shall mount the throne for twenty-seven generations."

Mallojee employed his fortune in the purchase of horses, and in the popular works of digging tanks, building wells, and endowing various temples; but he was not diverted from his favourite scheme of being connected with the family of Jadow Rao. Jugpal Naik Nimbalkur of Phultun, the brother of Deepa Bye, Mallojee's wife, warmly interested himself to promote the proposed marriage of his nephew. Wealth too, at a falling court, like that of Ahmednugur, could procure any thing;

* A name of Mahdeo.

and as Jadow Rao's objection was now confined merely to Mallojee's rank, this was soon obviated, by his being raised to the command of five thousand horse, with the title of Mallojee Raja Bhonslay. The forts of Sewneree and Chakun, with their dependent districts, were likewise placed in his charge; and the Pergunnas of Poona and Sopa made over to him in Jagheer. Thus, every obstacle being removed, Jadow Rao had no longer an excuse for not performing what he was A.D. 1604. urged to by his sovereign. The marriage of Shahjee to Jeejee Bye was celebrated with great pomp, and was honoured by the presence of the sultan.*

The Moghul invasions, for the purpose of reducing the kingdoms of Ahmednugur, Beejapoor, and Golcondah, had a great influence on the rise of the Mahrattas. The revolutions which took place in Hindoostan, and which placed the descendants of Timour on the imperial throne, gave the princes of the Bahminee dynasty an opportunity of firmly establishing their power; and had the Moghul emperors been in a condition to attempt the conquest of the Deccan, whilst the united kingdom existed, it probably would have been the means of preserving two rival Mahomedan empires in India, for a much longer period than either of them endured. When the great but A.D. 1590. ambitious Akber projected the subversion of the Deccan monarchies, they were not only in a state of warfare with each other, but in-

* The above account of the ancient Mahratta families is from MSS., old deeds, and records in the possession of their descendants.

ternal dissensions paralyzed their individual efforts. The kingdom of Ahmednugur, in particular, was a prey to disorder, occasioned by the contests of two parties: the one headed by a Hindoo*, the other by Abyssinian nobles.† The Hindoo faction, though they soon repented of the measure, were the first to invite the interference of the Moghuls; and the emperor Akber, at his death, in 1605, was not only in possession of Candeish, which he had wrested from the independent Mahomedan princes who had long governed it, but of a portion of the territory belonging to Nizam Shah, comprehending a great part of Berar, and the fort of Ahmednugur‡, with some districts in its immediate vicinity. Ahmednugur fell to the Moghuls, during the minority of Buhadur Nizam Shah, whom they sent into

A. D. 1605.

* Of this Hindoo, whom Ferishta calls Mean Rajoo, I have obtained no satisfactory account, nor is any mention made of him in any Mahratta MSS. that I have ever seen.

† Several of the Nizam Shahee kings had Abyssinian wives, and the nobles alluded to, are said to have been chiefly the connections of these wives.

‡ It sustained two memorable sieges before it was finally taken; and its first defence, maintained by Chaund Beebee, the widow of Ali Adil Shah of Beejapoor, was perfectly heroic. The Chaund Beebee, who was assassinated, during the second siege, still lives in Deccan story, and Deccan song, a heroine unrivalled. This celebrated lady, the historian Khafee Khan calls the daughter of Boorahan Nizam Shah; but this is a mistake, she was the daughter of Hoossein Nizam Shah, and given in marriage, with the fort of Sholapoor, as her portion, to Ali Adil Shah in 1564, for the purpose of binding the alliance then formed against the Raja of the Carnatic. Some years after her husband's death, she returned to Ahmednugur.

perpetual confinement in Gwalior. But the Nizam Shahee state, though its capital was reduced, and its lawful prince imprisoned, was still far from being subdued. The Abyssinian faction, headed by a man of uncommon genius, named Mullik Umber, attained the chief control; set up a new king, by the title of Mortiza Nizam Shah the II.; hoisted the Byheree standard on the impregnable rock of Doulutabad, and soon became equally formidable and respectable.

Of the origin of Mullik Umber there are various traditions: the most consistent of them is, that he was, in his youth, a personal adherent of Chungeze Khan*, the too loyal† minister of Mortiza Nizam Shah the I., and from his able patron, it is probable he acquired some of that knowledge by which he, in a short time, regulated the country, improved the revenue, and on the threatened frontier of the Deccan, became, for upwards of twenty years, its bulwark of protection from foreign conquest.

The accession of Jehangeer, and the rebellion of his son Sultan Khosrou, afforded Mullik Umber some respite from Moghul invasion; he had leisure to commence his revenue arrangements, to establish his authority in those parts of the Ahmednugur territory, not occupied by the imperial troops, and to make his regency respected at home and abroad. The sultans of Beejapoor, and Golcondah, unfortunately for the stability of their own king-

* Mahratta MSS.

† Aware of the contents of the cup, he swallowed the poison tendered by his ungrateful sovereign. (Ferishta.)

doms, did not view the rise of Mullik Umber favourably. Ibrahim Adil Shah bore him a personal enmity, and both kings were likely to disapprove of a usurpation, which might, from such an example, be speedily followed in their own courts.

A. D. 1610. Mullik Umber founded the city of Khirkee*, near Doulutabad, where he established his capital, and built several splendid palaces. He repeatedly defeated the Moghul armies, and for a time recovered the fort of Ahmednugur, and the districts in Berar. Though almost constantly engaged in war, this great man found leisure to cultivate the arts of peace, and to forward those arrangements in finance, which have left his name in every village of his country, far more venerated as a ruler, than renowned as a general. He abolished revenue farming, and committed the management to Bramin agents, under Mahomedan superintendence; he restored such parts of the village establishment as had fallen into decay; and he revived a mode of assessing the fields, by collecting a moderate proportion of the actual produce in kind, which, after the experience of several seasons, was commuted for a payment in money settled annually according to the cultivation.† By such means his districts soon became thriving and popu-

A. D. 1614.

* Frequently written Gurka by Mahomedan authors. Its name of Khirkee was afterwards, as we shall see, changed to Aurungabad.

† This account of Mullik Umber's famous revenue arrangements is principally upon the authority of Mahratta MSS.,

lous; and although his expenditure was great, his finances were abundant.

A. D. 1615. But Mullik Umber was not always prosperous; he frequently experienced severe reverses, and about the year 1621, some of the principal Mahrattas in his service were

A. D. 1621. induced to quit his standard, and go over to the Moghuls. The most important defection was that of Lookhjee Jadow Rao, Deshmookh of Sindkheir, whom we have already mentioned as a principal Mahratta chief under the Nizam Shahee government. The manner in which the Moghuls received and rewarded him, is, in itself, a proof of the great power and consequence which the Mahrattas had by that time attained. A munsub of 24,000, with 15,000 horse was conferred upon him, and such of his relations as accompanied him were all raised to high rank.

But the rebellion of the Prince Shah Jehan, again called off the attention of the imperial troops, and Mullik Umber, before his death, which

A. D. 1626. happened in the beginning of 1626, once more triumphed in the Deccan. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Beejapoor did not survive Mullik Umber above a year. The memory of both is still preserved with much respect in the legends of the countries where they ruled. The mausoleum of the latter still stands, the most perfect and the most

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where it is stated that his assessment was two fifths of the produce of government lands. Tradition says his money commutation was about one third.

beautiful of the many buildings which remain among the ruins of Beejapoor, to attest its former grandeur, and the magnificence of its nobles and kings.

During the wars of Mullik Umber, the Mahrattas in his service were frequently conspicuous. Shahjee Bhonslay, who had succeeded his father Mallojee in the Jagheer, particularly distinguished himself in a great battle with the Moghuls, fought in the year 1620, near the northern boundary of the Ahmednugur territory, in which, although Mullik Umber was defeated, no share of the blame was attached to the Mahrattas. In the account of the battle, Lookhjee Jadow Rao is mentioned as well as Shahjee, and one of the Naiks * of Phultun was killed on the same occasion.

Up to this period, since the first conquest of the country, we find little trace of the Hindoo natives of Maharashtra in Mahomedan history †; their

* This is supposed by the present Jan Rao Naik Nimbalkur to have been his ancestor Jugpal, who was killed about this period. Though the Naiks of Phultun held their Jagheer from the Beejapoor government, this circumstance affords no satisfactory evidence of Ibrahim Adil Shah's having assisted Mullik Umber, or that there was a general confederacy against the Moghuls. From the character of Jugpal, who, according to the family legends, was always present where there was hunting or fighting, he may have joined without the authority of his government.

† Ferishta's history, which is deservedly considered our best authority, ends about the beginning of the seventeenth century. From that period, for the ensuing forty years, or up to the final dismemberment of the kingdom of Ahmednugur, I have adopted the work of Khafee Khan as the most consistent and authentic source, respecting that obscure period of Deccan history. Khafee Khan was the assumed name of the author, his

leaders and their nation are almost nameless, but we shall now see them fast rising into consequence, and it therefore becomes necessary to enter a little

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real name was Mohummud Hashem Khan. He was the son of Khwajeh Meer, also an historian, and an officer of high rank in the service of Moraud Bukhsh; but after that prince's confinement and death, he came into the employment of Aurungzebe. Mohummud Hashem Khan was brought up in Aurungzebe's service, and was employed by him both in political and military situations. His history has been frequently referred to, and large extracts from it have appeared in various works, particularly in the Seyr Mutuakhereen, but no English translation of the history his been published. Dow's third volume would have been much more valuable, had he adopted Khafee Khan as his only authority. The history was written after Aurungzebe's death; the great blank in the Moghul history, which occurs from the tenth year of that Emperor's reign, is very indifferently supplied, but after the twenty-third year of the reign, the account is full, and is frequently supported by other authorities, or rather, at that period, serves to corroborate them.

During repeated visits to the ancient city of Beejapoor, which was comprehended in a tract of territory for some time under my superintendence, I endeavoured to collect from the descendants of the persons in charge of the once splendid endowments of its mosques and mausoleums, all the manuscripts, deeds, and papers, in their possession. The following is a list of those which bore the smallest reference to my subject:

1st. Original memoranda for a history of Bejapoor, partly arranged by Abool Hoossein Qazee, who died a few years before the city was finally captured; the papers, said to be in his own handwriting, are in possession of a Peer-zaduh, styled Sahib Huzrut, son-in-law of Abdoollah Sahib, a very venerable and sensible old man, the most respectable person now in Beejapoor. He is full of legendary information, and on seeing and conversing with him, in the midst of lofty domes and falling palaces, one fancies himself in company with the last of the inhabitants of that wonderful place.

more fully into the detail of events which immediately preceded the rise of Sivajee.

A.D. 1626. Ibrahim Adil Shah, whose death we have just mentioned, was the second of that name who had filled the throne of Beejapoor. He left to his son Mohummud Adil Shah, who succeeded him in the 15th or 16th year of his age, a large treasury, a country still flourishing, and an army, the strength of which appears exaggerated * when stated at eighty thousand horse, with upwards of 200,000 infantry in pay, including his garrisons.

2d. A history of Beejapoor, by Meer Ibrahim, son of Meer Hoossein Lohr. This work, which the Deccan Mahomedans frequently quote without understanding it, is nothing more than a collection of names and dates, expressing the dates in letters, and something of the characters of each individual whose death is thus recorded.

3d. A history of Ali Adil Shah, the Second, written by Noor Ullah, the son of Syud Ali Mohummud Hoosseinee Qadree, in which there is some very useful information amongst a great deal of rubbish.

4th. The Ali Namu, an historical poem, of the reign of Ali Adil Shah, the Second. It is written by Nusserut the only poet of Beejapoor, excepting Hashimee, who translated Yusoof and Zuleikha into Hindoostance verse. The works of Nusserut are, the Ali Namu, and Goolshun-i-eshq, a copy of the former was found in Tippoo's library at Seringapatam, and is not uncommon.

5th. A history of Beejapoor, written by Syud Moideen Peerzaduh, suggested by numerous inquiries put to him by English officers, who have been much in the habit of visiting Beejapoor since the last Mahratta war. It was finished in January 1821; and although great pains have been taken, the author's dates, by confusing the Soorsun and Heejree eras, are frequently much misplaced. His industry, however, is very commendable.

* Beejapoor MSS.

Mullik Umber left two sons, Futih Khan, and Chungeze Khan: he was succeeded as regent of the Nizam Shahee kingdom by his eldest son, Futih Khan. The new regent prosecuted the war against the Moghuls, but being entirely destitute of his father's abilities, he would have been worsted, had not the Moghul general, Khan Jehan Lodi, granted him an armistice on very favourable terms.

A. D. 1629. The Sultan Mortiza Nizam Shah the II. on attaining man's estate, was naturally desirous of circumscribing the power of the regent, and the violent and inconsistent conduct of Futih Khan, rendered this object a matter of easy accomplishment; otherwise it could never have been effected by this prince, who was vindictive, versatile, and totally unfit for the difficult conjuncture in which he had the misfortune to be placed. Assisted by an officer named Tukurrib Khan, he succeeded in throwing Futih Khan into con-

A. D. 1630. finement; on which event, the Mahratta chief Lookhjee Jadow Rao immediately offered to return to his allegiance. But Mortiza Nizam Shah had conceived mortal offence at his desertion, and only pretended to listen to his overtures, until he had allured him to a conference within the fort of Doulutabad, where he treacherously murdered him with several of his relations. His widow, a person whom we have already had occasion to notice, on hearing what had happened, fled with the troops of her husband to Sindkheir, whence, accompanied by her brother-in-law, Jugdeo Rao Jadow, she repaired to the imperial camp, where, by her intercession, Jugdeo Rao was confirmed in

the Jagheer, and obtained the rank of five thousand horse; ever after which, the Jadows of Sindkheir faithfully adhered to the Moghuls.

A. D. 1628. The Emperor Jehangeer died in 1627, and, in the following year, was succeeded by his son Shah Jehan. The new Emperor bore a personal enmity to Khan Jehan Lodi, then governor of the Moghul conquests in the Deccan. He removed him from his government to that of Malwa, and invited him to court. Though at first received with much courtesy, he afterwards suspected treachery, fled into the Deccan, and sought refuge on the confines of Buglana, within the territory of Nizam Shah. A force was immediately sent in pursuit of him; but the Zumeendars, or Deshmookhs of the country, rose in his defence, repulsed the Moghul troops, and could not be

A. D. 1629. induced, by promises or threats, to give him up. Shah Jehan was so extremely jealous of Khan Jehan Lodi, that he deemed his submission of vital importance to the stability of his throne. He advanced towards the Deccan with a great army, threatening with destruction all who should afford protection to Lodi, or espouse his cause. Having had considerable experience in the desultory mode of warfare peculiar to the Deccan, he separated his army into three divisions, which he placed under the respective command of Azim Khan, Iradut Khan, and Shaisteh Khan. The division of Azim Khan penetrated by the western route, and he being a very active officer, soon compelled Khan Jehan Lodi to fly to the southward.

Shahjee Bhonslay was one of the supporters of

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Lodi; but on his flight, Shahjee, probably fearing the loss of his Jagheer, followed the example of his mother-in-law, the widow of Lookhjee Jadow Rao, and made a tender of his services to the
A. D. 1629. Moghul Emperor through Azim Khan; promising, on condition of receiving a safe conduct and a letter of pardon, to repair to the imperial presence. The indulgence being granted, he came to court, accompanied by his immediate dependents, and a body of two thousand horse. Having paid his respects to Shah Jehan, he was promoted to the rank of 6000 with 5000 horse; many of his dependants were also raised to munsubs, and Shahjee was not only confirmed in his Jagheer, but received a grant for some other districts, the names of which no where appear; but Ahmednugur was probably * one of them. Shahjee's cousin, Kellojee Bhonslay, the son of Wittoojee, went over to the imperial service about the same time, and received a munsub. †

Khan Jehan Lodi, on being driven from the western quarter of the Nizam Shahee territory, repaired to Beejapoor, and endeavoured to rouse Mohummud Adil Shah to combine, with Mortiza Nizam Shah, in repelling Moghul encroachment.

* I say probably Ahmednugur, because Shahjee had no hereditary claim to the Deshmookhee of Ahmednugur, and it will hereafter appear that his son Sivajee set up such a pretension.

† Original firman, from Shah Jehan, to Kellojee Bhonslay, found in possession of a Mahratta, who headed a petty insurrection near Vishalgurh, in 1820. Kellojee Bhonslay was put to death by Aurungzebe; the time and circumstances are not ascertained. Mahratta MSS.

His arguments had no immediate effect, and he was compelled to return to Doulutabad.

A. D. 1630. During the season of 1629--30 no rain fell in the Deccan, and a famine, accompanied by pestilence, ensued; but on its being ascertained that Khan Jehan had returned, notwithstanding the obstacles which disease, and the difficulty of procuring subsistence presented, Azim Khan marched towards Doulutabad. His army was opposed by that of Nizam Shah, which had taken up a strong position for the purpose, but was driven from it after a resolute defence.

This defeat, and the wretched state of the country, induced Khan Jehan to adopt the desperate resolution of endeavouring to make his way to the Afghans in Cabul. He set out, but was soon closely and perseveringly followed by the imperial troops; a party at last overtook him, when turning on his numerous pursuers, at the head of a few faithful adherents, he fell covered with wounds; but nobly fought on to his last breath, in a manner which obtained for him the admiration of the most obdurate of his enemies.

Azim Khan, in the meantime, pursued the advantages which his victory opened to him; he took possession of the districts, displaced the agents of the Nizam Shahee Jagheerdars and Munsubdars, and bestowed divisions of the country on his own adherents. Marching southward from Doulutabad, he reduced several places, and surprised the strong fort of Dharoor near Bheer. The troops of Nizam Shah appear to have been commanded by two officers, Bahlole Khan, an Afghan adherent of

Lodi, and Mukrib Khan, who maintained a desultory warfare, and though constantly put to flight, remained unsubdued.

A. D. 1631. Mortiza Nizam Shah found that disorder and ruin threatened him on all sides; but had neither discernment to discover the defects of his administration, nor talents to apply a remedy. Losing confidence in his minister, he turned his attention to his prisoner, Futih Khan, released him from confinement, and restored him to power. Tukurrib Khan, disgusted by this proceeding, and dreading the consequence to himself, went over to Azim Khan, and got the rank of 6000 horse in the imperial service. His defection, at this period, was useful to the Moghuls, as they were threatened with a new enemy in the person of Sultan Mohummud Adil Shah.

It appears that a secret partition treaty had been entered into betwixt Ibrahim Adil Shah, and the Moghul Emperor, at some period of the war with Mullik Umber, the conditions of which were, that the Beejapoor government, if it afforded active co-operation in reducing the Nizam Shahee territory, should receive the districts in the Concan belonging to that state, also the fort of Sholapoor, with five forts on the eastern side, communicating with the Edil Shahee districts near Beder, of which Dharoor was one. But Mohummud Adil Shah, though he appears to have recognized the agreement in the first instance, never entered heartily into the views of the Moghuls: he would gladly have seized for himself a portion of the Nizam Shahee territory; but he did not consider it politic

to share it with such a formidable power. On the present occasion, he had engaged in a secret negotiation with Mortiza Nizam Shah, but sent forward an army under his general Rendoollah Khan, giving out that they were auxiliaries proceeding to join the Moghuls. On arriving in the neighbourhood of Azim Khan's army, Rendoollah Khan sent to request that the fort of Dharoor might be delivered up to the troops of Adil Shah, according to the treaty. Azim Khan reasonably objected, that as they had not assisted in its reduction, nor as yet fulfilled their part of the conditions, he could not comply with the demand; but, as there was still ample opportunity for proving their good faith, the present application might be a future consideration with the Emperor. Meanwhile Mortiza Nizam Shah having agreed to restore Sholapoor to the king of Beejapoor, an alliance was concluded between them, which had for its object mutual defence against the Moghuls.

Occasion of quarrel, however, arose between the armies of Azim Khan, and Rendoolah Khan, before the plans of the confederates were matured, and a battle was fought in which the army of Beejapoor was defeated.

The two states, in alliance, might still have recovered what they had lost; but Mortiza Nizam Shah, having put himself in the power of the ruffian whom he had injured, was, about this time, thrown into prison, and strangled by order of Futih Khan; by whom also, the whole of the nobility, attached to the unfortunate prince, were put to death.

To excuse these acts of revenge and violence Futih Khan sent a petition to Shah Jehan, representing that he had thus acted on purpose to testify his regard for the imperial service, and that he had raised the son of the deceased to the vacant throne, until the emperor's pleasure should be known.

Shah Jehan, in reply, affected to believe this representation; and although he considered the remaining districts of the kingdom almost subdued, and about to be annexed to the empire, yet, as it would have been difficult to obtain possession of many of the forts by force, he pretended to grant them to the orphan, on condition of his sending the best elephants, and the most valuable of the jewels, belonging to the Nizam Shahee family, to the imperial court. Great honours were, at the same time, conferred on Futih Khan; considerable districts were promised to him in Jagheer, and amongst others, some of those formerly granted to Shahjee Bhonslay.

Upon the breaking out of hostilities with Beejapoor, large reinforcements were poured into the Deccan; and Asif Khan, as chief in command, passing through the Nizam Shahee territory, thus unexpectedly detached from the alliance, invaded the territory of Mohummud Adil Shah, laid it waste, and besieged his capital. But supplies having been cut off, and the operations artfully protracted, Asif Khan was obliged to desist; and after plundering and destroying the country, as far west as Merich, he returned with his army. Mohabet Khan, who had been appointed governor

of the Moghul territory in the Deccan, when Khan Jehan Lodi was removed to Malwa, now took upon himself the conduct of the war. It was intended to prosecute the reduction of the Beejapoor territory, but circumstances changed the scene of action.

A. D. 1632. Futih Khan at first shewed some reluctance to part with the elephants and jewels demanded of him, but compliance being enforced, he was confirmed as regent, and allowed to retain the promised districts. Shahjee Bhonslay, disgusted by this treatment, made overtures to the Beejapoor government, through Morar Punt, an able Bramin, and a principal minister of Mohummud Adil Shah.

A projected enterprise against Doulutabad formed a part of Shahjee's proposals to Morar Punt; and he so strongly represented the unprepared state of the garrison, the general defection of the nobility, and the readiness with which all who had suffered in the late commotions would join against both Futih Khan and the Moghuls, that the king consented.

Futih Khan, on hearing of the march of the Beejapoor army, reinforced by Shahjee, sensible of the general hatred towards himself throughout the country, proposed to place himself under the protection of the Moghul general, Mohabet Khan, and to give up the fort. Mohabet Khan, much pleased with an offer so advantageous, marched, as soon as possible, towards Doulutabad. The army of Beejapoor, however, arrived first, and, to prevent communication with the fort, threw themselves

between it and the Moghuls. A battle, of course, ensued; the ground was obstinately contested by the Beejapoor army, and Shahjee creditably supported the leading part he bore in the cause; but they were finally driven back, and forced to encamp sixteen miles on the opposite side of Doulutabad.

The Beejapoor chiefs, who, like all the Deccanees, were adepts at intrigue and negotiation where force was ineffectual, sent messages to Futih Khan, representing how much he should sacrifice by surrendering the fortress; and that if he would agree to remunerate Shahjee, and not deliver up Doulutabad to the emperor, they would support him, and maintain the former alliance. The proposal being acceded to, both in conjunction, without any previous declaration, opened a fire on the Moghuls, which so enraged Mohabet Khan, that he determined on regularly investing the place, and punishing this unparalleled breach of faith, on the part of Futih Khan. Having a fine army, with many experienced officers, he formed a part of it into three divisions: one to oppose the Beejapoor army; another to cover the supplies of his own camp; and the third to prevent any provisions or stores from being thrown into the fort. Each was to support the other as necessary, whilst the main body, under his own superintendence, was destined for active operations against the fortress.

A. D. Feb. 1633. The attack was maintained with vigour and perseverance, and was met by an equally vigorous defence; but the garrison, being indifferently provisioned, were obliged to

capitulate, after an eventful siege of fifty-eight days. Futih Khan was divested of all power, and became a pensioner of the Moghul government.* The child whom he had set up was placed in perpetual confinement in Gwalior, being the second prince of this house immured in that fortress.

Shahjee was one of the best partizans on the side of the Beejapoor army; and it became an object to check his activity by any means. Whilst the siege of Doulutabad was in progress, Mhaldar Khan, the Nizam Shahee governor of the fort of Trimbuck, offered his services to the emperor, through Mohabet Khan; by whom he was told, that if he would seize Shahjee's wife and family, then residing near Byzapoor, he might have a still better opportunity of proving his zeal for the cause he had embraced, and of doing a very acceptable piece of service. The Killidar accordingly made the attempt, and succeeded in taking the wife of Shahjee, together with a great deal of property. The object, however, was not answered, from circumstances hereafter explained; and some of the relations having become security, obtained Jeejee Bye's release, and conveyed her to the fort of Kondaneh.†

After the fall of Doulutabad, Mohabet Khan left Khan Dowran, to protect that neighbourhood, and marched in pursuit of the Beejapoor troops.

* He afterwards became mad, and died from the effects of an old wound in the head.

† Beejapoor MSS. Khafee Khan mentions that the daughter of Shahjee was captured on this occasion, but I cannot find that he had a daughter.

They retired before him, but maintained their usual desultory mode of warfare, and several sharp skirmishes took place, in one of which, Nagojee*, a Mahratta officer of distinction, was killed: some overtures for peace were made by Morar Punt; probably, with a view of throwing the Moghul general off his guard; for when Mohabet Khan had advanced a considerable distance into the Beejapoor territory, a large detachment set off secretly, and by forced marches endeavoured to surprise Doulutabad, but the attempt was unsuccessful. Towards the end of the year, Mohabet Khan was superseded by the appointment of sultan Shuja, the emperor's second son, to the government of the Deccan. Mohabet Khan remained as his director in the management of affairs; but still he was only second in command, and the war, from that time, did not prosper under this administration. Both Mohabet Khan and Sultan Shuja
A. D. 1634. were recalled in the ensuing year, in consequence of their having failed to reduce the fortress of Purinda; where they were not only repulsed, but, after raising the siege, they were compelled to retreat to Burhanpoor.

In the meantime Shahjee, after the surrender of Doulutabad, the removal of Futih Khan, and the confinement of the young prince, aspired to the regency, and, accordingly, proclaimed another prince as the lawful heir of Nizam Shah. By the assistance of some Bramins, he commenced regu-

* Supposed to be Nagojee Ghatgay Joojhar Rao, who was killed in a battle with the Moghuls. (Buker of the Ghatgay family.)

lating the country, got possession of most of the forts, occupied the districts in the name of the new king, and collected troops from all quarters. The whole of that part of the Concan which had belonged to the kingdom of Ahmednugur, and the districts as far east as Ahmednugur, extending from the Neera river on the south, to the Chandore range on the north, with the exception of a few of the garrisoned places, were, for a time overrun by Shahjee.*

A small detachment from the army was at first considered sufficient for his suppression; but his party continued to gain strength, and on the defeat of the Moghuls at Purinda, he extended his power in the manner we have mentioned.

After the removal of Prince Shuja, Aurungzebe, the Emperor's third son, being very young, and Shah Jehan considering the conquests in the Deccan too extensive to be placed under any one officer not of the royal family, resolved, as a temporary measure, to separate them into two governments. To those districts of Candeish, which had been long in possession of the Moghuls, Galna was added; together with that part of Berar, termed Berar Payeen Ghaut, which lies to the north, below the range of hills. These constituted one of the new governments, and the lately acquired districts in the Nizam Shahee territory formed the other. Khan

* There is evidence of these facts in Mahratta MSS. as well as in Khafee Khan. This is no doubt the regency of Shahjee, which we find mentioned in all the Mahratta MSS. as having taken place during a minority in the family of Nizam Shah.

Dowran and Khan Zuman were appointed to the charge of them, and directed to co-operate in the settlement of the western districts, and in the reduction of Shahjee. This last, however, was an operation of difficulty. Shahjee had collected a large army, was intimately connected with Morar Punt and Rendoollah Khan, and supported by the Sultan, their master.

The Emperor was exasperated at the opposition made, in a country which he had considered as subdued on the capture of Doulutabad, and being highly incensed against Mohummud Adil Shah, he prepared a great army, with the determination of bringing affairs in the Ahmednugur territory to a speedy settlement, even if it should involve the reduction of the other kingdoms in the Deccan; to which Shah Jehan, in his deliberate judgment was always averse. Whether this moderation proceeded from policy, or a sense of justice, it is difficult to determine; but his hostilities against both Beejapoor and Golcondah were always commenced in the spirit of personal anger. On the present occasion, he sent an ambassador to Beejapoor, directing him to demand the restitution of the forts lately belonging to the Nizam Shahee state, of which the Sultan of Beejapoor had obtained possession: their guns and military stores were likewise to be delivered up, particularly the large cannon called Mullik-i-Mydan*, which had been

* "The sovereign of the plain." The natives of Beejapoor insist on calling it moolk-i-mydan, which, they say, signifies "the lion of the plain." This gun, of which the muzzle is four feet eight inches in diameter, and the caliber two feet four

conveyed from Purinda to Beejapoor. But above all, the envoy was directed to insist upon the Sultan's renouncing Shahjee, and affording no countenance or protection to him, or to those persons by whom disturbances were excited. To induce a compliance with these demands, a promise of the fort and district of Sholapoor, together with the whole of the Nizam Shahee Concan, and a vaunting threat of annihilation in case of refusal were at once held out. Both proved ineffectual; and Shah Jehan, according to his usual practice of dividing his attacks, broke his army, of which forty eight thousand were select cavalry, into four divisions; two to act against Shahjee, and two against Mohummud Adil Shah. Of the two former, one under Shaisteh Khan and Aliverdy Khan, was destined to besiege Shahjee's forts about Chandore, Sungumnere and Nassuck; and another, consisting of 20,000 horse, under Khan Zuman, was to drive him from the field, to pursue him, to take possession of his strong holds in the Concan, and to expel him from every quarter of the Nizam Shahee territory. Of the two latter, one under Khan Dowran was origin-

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inches, was cast at Ahmednugur, A. D. 1549, by a native of Constantinople, named Hoosein Khan. Aurungzebe put an inscription upon it to commemorate the conquest of Beejapoor in 1685, which has led to the mistake of supposing it to have been cast at that time. It is alike curious from its dimensions and its history: the Bombay government in 1823, was particularly desirous of sending it to the King of England, and an engineer was sent to examine it for the purpose, but the present state of the roads renders the difficulty of transporting such a huge mass of metal to the coast, almost insuperable.

ally ordered to take up a position near Nandere, owing to suspicions entertained of Sultan Abdoollah Kootub Shah of Golcondah; but on these doubts being removed, and his paying the arrears of tribute for which the Emperor's envoy was then settling, and which he did before the campaign opened, Khan Dowran's division became available both for the capture of the forts to the eastward, and for hostilities in the heart of the Beejapoor dominions. The other detachment, which
A. D. 1635. at first composed the reserve under Syud Khan Jehan, was also destined for Beejapoor.

A part of the besieging division of Shaisteh Khan, under Aliverdy Khan, speedily reduced twenty-five of the forts about Chandore and Nassuck, which, though places of strength, made little resistance.* Shaisteh Khan himself proceeded towards the borders of the Beejapoor dominions, where he reduced Nuldroog, and occupied the districts between Sholapoor and Beder; but the forts of Trimbuck, Sewneree, and Kondaneh above the Ghauts, with many in the Concan, were still in possession of Shahjee's adherents.

Shahjee maintained a desultory warfare against

* Khafee Khan mentions the capture of the son and family of Shahjee in one of these forts, of which I can find no confirmation, and consider it a mistake, connected with the report of the former capture of Jeejye Bye. The same author mentions Sivajee's escape to a fort in the sea on this occasion; and this also may allude to the former circumstance. Jeejye Bye after her first capture seems to have been principally at Kondaneh, Sewneree, and perhaps, from the year 1633 to 1636, occasionally at Maholy in the Concan.

Khan Zuman for a considerable time, but was driven from the territory about Ahmednugur, Chumargoondee, and Baramuttee successively, and pursued across the Neera into the Beejapoor territory, towards Merich and Kolapoor. Assisted by the Edil Shahee troops, he there continued to harass by his attacks, or eluded by his vigilance, the army in pursuit of him: and Khan Zuman was therefore, directed to give over a fruitless pursuit, and lay waste the country about Kolapoor, Merich, and Raeebagh. He accordingly took and destroyed the towns, carried off the inhabitants prisoners, and continued every species of depredation, until an armistice was concluded with Beejapoor, when he again resumed the pursuit of Shahjee.

Khan Dowran marched from Candeish towards Beejapoor, in the direction of Beder and Kulburga, surprised and took several forts; plundering the mercantile towns, and spreading ruin wherever he appeared. He was attacked by some divisions of the Beejapoor army, in their usual manner, but they did not prevent his advance. When he approached Beejapoor, Mohummud Adil Shah adopted the resolution of emptying the reservoirs of water beyond the walls of the fort, and collected or destroyed the whole of the grain and forage within a circuit of twenty miles.*

* The neighbourhood of the capital of Beejapoor is very sterile on three sides, but four miles to the south of the city, there is a rich, deep, black soil, which in good seasons produces very extraordinary crops. The soil extends several miles on each side of the small river Dhone, the water of which

Khan Dowran, therefore, did not attack the capital, but continued his plan of plundering and devastating the country. The division of Syud Khan Jehan adopted the same system, and the march of the Moghuls was every where marked by flames and desolation.

The Beejapoor troops, however, frequently acted with great vigour. Syud Khan Jehan was repeatedly attacked by Rendoollah Khan with success, and forced, at last, to effect a junction with the division of Khan Douran.

A. D. 1636. But the ruin spread throughout the country compelled Mohummud Adil Shah to sue for peace; and a treaty was concluded on terms more favourable than he had reason to expect. Though an enumeration of all the articles be unnecessary, the general terms of this pacification, and the partition of the Nizam Shahee territory, deserve the reader's particular attention, being intimately connected with the rise of Sivajee.

It was settled, that the forts of Purinda and Sholapoor, with their dependent districts, should be given up to Mohummud Adil Shah. He was, likewise, to retain undisturbed possession of the districts of Nuldroog, Kallianee, and Beder east of Sholapoor; and the huge piece of ordnance pertaining to Purinda was thus left on the works of Beejapoor, where it remains at this day. The

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is strongly impregnated with salt. The Mahrattas have a very expressive rhyme in regard to this small tract:

Should the crop on Dhone grow, who can eat it?
Should it fail, who can eat?

province of Kalliannee, in the Concan, which extended the Beejapoor possessions on the coast, as far north as the Bassein river, was also ceded; and the whole of the country lying between the Beema and the Neera, which had formerly belonged to the kingdom of Ahmednugur, as far north as Chakun, was now annexed to Beejapoor. The principal condition attached to this cession was, the payment of an annual tribute of twenty lacks of Pagodas. By an article of the treaty, the emperor promises to pardon Shahjee and his adherents, if he will deliver up the forts in his possession, together with all his artillery and warlike stores; but in case of non-compliance, he is to be expelled from the territory of Beejapoor, and declared the common enemy of both states.

Shahjee, as soon as the Beejapoor government began to treat, retired towards the Concan; and as he at first evaded the surrender of his forts, Khan Zuman continued to prosecute the war against him. But in the course of a few months, Trimbuck, Sewneree, and most of his forts in the Concan being reduced, Shahjee solicited a pardon, and petitioned for admission into the emperor's service.

A.D. 1637.

In reply to this application he was told, that he might retire into the service of Mohummud Adil Shah, which he accordingly did, and Kondaneh*

* Kondaneh came into Shahjee's possession by his being at the head of the government. Kondaneh and Poorundhur were two of those forts, which under the Mahomedan governments, were reserved by the king, and not intrusted to the care of Jagheerdars.

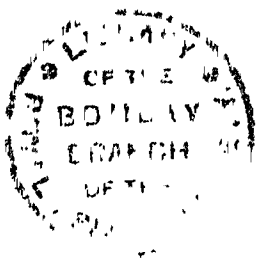
was probably surrendered by Shahjee to Beejapoor.

The young prince whom, in imitation of Mullik Umber and Futih Khan, Shahjee had set up, was taken by Khan Zuman in one of the forts, and sent off to be confined with the others in the state prison at Gwalior.

This event completed the subjugation of the Ahmednugur state, and finally ended the Byheree dynasty.

Before quitting this chapter I have to acknowledge my obligations to Captain Alexander Gordon, first assistant to the resident at Nagpoor, and Mr. William Erskine late of Bombay: the former has translated Khafee Khan to the end of the reign of Jehangeer; and the latter has translated all such parts of the reign of Shah Jehan from the same author, as bear reference to Deccan history. Both these gentlemen allowed me the free use of their labours, and thus far materially shortened mine.

I have had access to two or three copies of the original of Khafee Khan; the best is in the library of Moonshee Mohummud Huneef, late of the Poona residency.



CHAP. III.

FROM A. D. 1637. TO A. D. 1648.

Shahjee's progress after entering the service of Beejapoor — marries a second wife. — Two sons by his first wife, Sumbhajee and Sivajee; and one son by his second wife, Venkajee. — Shahjee departs for the Carnatic, and sends his first wife and his son Sivajee to reside on his Jagheer at Poona, under the care of Dadajee Konedeo. — Political views of the Courts of Beejapoor and Golcondah. — The Moghuls introduce a new revenue system, and the Fusslee era into the Deccan. — Revenue system of Dadajee Konedeo. — The Mawuls — improvement of the condition of their inhabitants. — Sivajee's education — disposition, and early pursuits. — His three first adherents — obtains possession of the fort of Torna — manner of justifying the proceeding — builds Rajgurh. — Dadajee Konedeo's death. — The Killidars of Chakun and Kondaneh gained over by Sivajee — makes himself master of Sopa, and the fortress of Poorundhur.

A. D. 1637. WHEN Shahjee was finally driven to seek refuge under the Beejapoor government, his resources and abilities being known to Morar Punt, and all who had served with him, he was readily received and confirmed in possession of Poona and Sopa*, two of the districts be-

* From this period I have recourse principally to Mahratta manuscripts. Those to which I shall have immediate occasion to refer, are as follow:—

1. A Life of Sivajee, procured from the late Raja of Kolapoor, written by Kistnajee Anund Subhasud. There are several copies of this work; one is in possession of Mr. Hale, the judge and magistrate of the Southern Concan, to which I had access. I returned the original copy to the Raja of Kolapoor, and lodged a copy of it with the Literary Society of Bombay.

longing to his family Jagheer, which, by the late treaty, had been ceded to Beejapoor.

Morar Punt was employed, at this period, in the settlement of the newly acquired districts between the Neera and Beema, in which he appears to have been principally assisted by Shahjee. During their intercourse, Morar Punt had additional proofs of his talents and genius; in consequence of which, he loaded him with encomium and favour, and on

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2. Lives of the Rajas, and History of the Mahratta Empire, from the earliest period, to the present time; compiled by Mulhar Ram Rao Chitnees, from original memoranda, and originals, or copies of many authentic papers, written or transcribed by his ancestors, who were all persons highly distinguished at the Courts of Raigurh, Ginjee, and Satara. Mulhar Ram Rao's life of Sivajee is very voluminous; but I do not think he has made a good use of the valuable letters and records in his possession. Sivajee's instructions to officers and departments, are very complete and satisfactory. Some of the original copies of these instructions are in the hand-writing of Ballajee Aujee, and I have had them authenticated from another quarter, as will be mentioned. I lodged a copy of Mulhar Ram Rao's work, with the Literary Society of Bombay.

3. A Life of Sivajee, procured from the descendant of Chunder Rao Moray, Raja of Jowlee.

4. A Life of Sivajee, partly translated into English, by Thomas Coats, Esq., late superintending surgeon of the Poona auxiliary force.

5. A Life of Sivajee, partly translated, in the hand-writing of the late Sir Barry Close. Received from the Hon. M. Elphinstone.

6. A Life of Sivajee, obtained from the Koolkurnee of Kolhar, near Beejapoor.

7. A History of the Mahrattas, including an account of the Kings of Beejapoor, by the Deshpandya of Kuttao Desh.

When reverting to Moghul history, Khafee Khan continues my principal authority.

their return to court strongly recommended him to the king.

An expedition being then projected against the Carnatic, Shahjee was nominated second in command, under his friend Rendoollah Khan; and was, at the same time, promised a Jagheer in that quarter, consisting of the districts of Kolhar, Bangalore, Ouscotta, Balapoor, and Sera, which were afterwards made over to him, and probably with a view of securing him by an interest in different parts of the kingdom, Mohummud Adil Shah conferred on him a royal grant, for the Deshmookhee of twenty-two villages, in the district of Kurar*, the right to which had by some means devolved on government.

Shahjee's political connection with his relations, the Jadows, Deshmooks of Sindkheir, which had never been intimate, was entirely dissolved from the time of his quitting the imperial service; and Jugdeo Rao Jadow, his wife's uncle, acted on the side of the Moghuls during the war carried on against him. Domestic affairs have great influence on the public conduct of Mahrattas; and there may have been private reasons for Jugdeo Rao's animosity. Shahjee, in the year 1630, married into another family, named Mohitey, which was resented by Jeejee Bye †, his first wife; and she retired to some of her own relations, with whom she appears to have been residing when taken in 1633.

* Kurar is situated thirty miles south of Satara.

† Bye adjoined to a woman's name, designates her being a lady.

By this lady, the daughter of Lookhjee Jadow Rao, Shahjee had two sons: the elder was named Sumbhajee, and the younger Sivajee. The elder was his father's favourite, and accompanied him from early infancy; but the younger remained with his mother. Sivajee was born in the fort of Sewneree*, in the month of May, 1627; and during the turbulent period in which his childhood was passed, he had frequently escaped, by his mother's vigilance, from falling into the hands of their Mahomedan enemies. It is not known where he was concealed when his mother was made prisoner; but it is probable her release was obtained on the plea of her husband's neglect, and the disgrace, which many of the relations, both Jadows and Bhonslays, in the Moghul service, would conceive, attached to themselves until they had procured her enlargement.

To the disagreement that arose between Sivajee's parents, in consequence of the new connection formed by Shahjee, and the troubled state of the country, we may ascribe the circumstance of Sivajee's not having seen his father for a period of seven years, or from the year 1630 to 1636, inclusive. When Shahjee went with Morar Punt to Beejapoor, Jeejee Bye accompanied him, but only remained until the celebration of Sivajee's marriage to Suhyee Bye, the daughter of Nimbalkur; after which event Shahjee set out upon the Carnatic expedition, and Sivajee, with his mother, was sent to reside at Poona.

* It is situated about fifty miles north of Poona. The town is called Joonere, the fort Sewneree.

By Tooka Bye Mohitey, his second wife, Shahjee had one son, Venkajee; he had, likewise, an illegitimate son by a dancing girl whom he named Suntajee.

All Mahratta officers of consequence invariably retain a number of Bramins in their service, as writers and men of business*. Shahjee had a vast number of this description, some of whom had followed his fortunes, and contributed to his success at a more prosperous period; and others, who had been displaced by the Moghuls on occupying the country, now naturally adhered to him, in hopes of finding employment and subsistence. Among all these, his most confidential men were Naroo Punt Hunwuntay, and Dadajee Konedeo; the former he appointed to the management of his

* These Bramins, when occupied by ordinary duties, are termed Carcoons, or clerks; but when sent on public business, on the part of any great man, they are, in common with all envoys, styled Wukeels. This remark applies to Bramin writers in the service of an individual, and to subordinate clerks. Bramins at the head of offices, or employed in particular departments of the state, are designated according to the name of the office, or situation they hold. Every Mahratta owner of land, money, or even of two or three horses, has his Carcoon, who ostensibly attends to all his orders in the most respectful manner; but the Carcoon has generally the whole property at his disposal. He contrives to lend his master money at usurious interest, soon runs him in debt to himself; and the poor Mahratta is thus completely in the Bramin's power. But each frequently becomes necessary to the other, and many Bramin Carcoons in Mahratta families, on very trying occasions, have shewn the most devoted attachment and fidelity to the person and interests of their masters.

districts in the Carnatic, and the latter had charge of his family and Jagheer at Poona.

Dadajee was an able revenue officer, and under his superintendence the cultivation was soon improved, and the population increased. Further scope for his talents was afforded, by the acquisition of the districts of Indapoor and Baramuttee; which, together with several of those mountain vallies near Poona, known by the name of Mawuls, were added to Shahjee's Jagheer, in consequence of his eminent services in the Carnatic, and intrusted to the management of Dadajee Konedeo.*

An ambition of extending their boundaries in the Carnatic became prevalent, both at Golcondah and Beejapoor. These states were at peace, but they vied with each other in pursuing aggrandisement, by the easy conquests which the dissensions of the petty rajas in the south afforded; without reflecting on their own precarious situation, or seeking, in a league of common defence against the Moghuls, that security, which rivalry or jealousy had already so much undermined. A step towards union was, however, made by the marriage of the king of Beejapoor to the daughter of Kootub Shah, in 1641.

A.D. 1641.

Mohummud Adil Shah was personally, not a warlike prince. He seldom quitted the neighbourhood of Beejapoor; and his armies were intrusted to his generals. He improved his capital by the

* Mahratta MSS.

construction of an aqueduct still in existence, and ornamented it with several magnificent buildings.*

The Emperor Shah Jehan, after the peace of 1636, endeavoured to arrange and improve the lately conquered territory. The two governments in the Deccan were united, and the prince Aurungzebe was appointed viceroy; but at this time he only remained a very short period, and nothing of note was achieved, excepting the conquest of Buglana, a great part of which was afterwards relinquished.

The grand innovation occasioned by the Moghul conquests in Maharashtra, under Shah Jehan, was the introduction of the revenue system of Todur Mull, whose name must be familiar to the generality of oriental readers as an eminent Hindoo statesman, who, by his financial arrangements, and his regulations in the mint department, during the reign of Akber, had acquired a character of no inconsiderable celebrity.

In acting on Todur Mull's plan, the lands were, in the first instance assessed with reference to their fertility, in a proportion varying from one half to one seventh of the gross produce, according to the expence of culture, or to the description of the article cultivated. The government share was then commuted for a money payment; and in time, when a measurement, classification, and registry had taken place, the regulated assessment was fixed at a fourth of the whole produce of each

* Bejapoor MSS. I have enumerated those manuscripts in the preceding chapter.

field throughout the year*, and thus became the permanent rent of the land. Such was the method now introduced by Shah Jehan in the districts north of the Beema, under the superintendence of Moorshed Koolee Khan, an able officer who was employed for nearly twenty years in its completion.

The system is kown by the name of *Tunkha*, an appellation derived from the name of the silver coin in which Todur Mull collected the revenues, in lieu of the *Tukha*, a copper coin, previously used in revenue accounts throughout the empire.† It was likewise at this period, (or 1637-38) that the Fusslee year was introduced into the Mahratta country.

Dadajee Konedeo, whose districts adjoined those of the Moghuls, continued the system of Mullik Umber. He levied a proportion of the actual produce of each cultivated field, fixing the proportion every year, or when not collected in kind, he substituted a money payment. This plan differed from the permanent land assessment, as it was not only variable according to the state of the crops, but the rate was probably higher in particular instances. It appears, however, to have been suited to the state of the country, as the districts flourished; and great praise is invariably bestowed

* Mr. Grant's Pol. Analysis.

† Khafee Khan. I give this definition as the historian has recorded it; I have no reason to doubt its correctness, but I have not found it in any other authority. Village revenue accounts, in the Deccan, are to this day, not unfrequently, stated in Tukhas by the Koolkurnees.

on his management. The mountain vallies, or mawuls, were inhabited by a hardy, poor race of people, whose industry, exerted at all seasons, scarcely procured them subsistence. In the early part of Dadajee's administration, they were in more than usual distress; though armed to defend themselves against wild beasts, they were destitute of clothing; and the few miserable huts of which their villages were composed, were insufficient to cover them from the inclemency of the weather. Dadajee endeavoured to ameliorate the condition of the Mawulees. For several years no rent was demanded for their lands: a number of them were entertained in his service as peons to assist in collecting the revenue; for which they received a trifling sum as pay, and some very course grain as subsistence.

The family of Shahjee continued to live under the care of Dadajee. Their residence was fixed at Poona, where Dadajee built a large house for Jeejee Bye's accommodation, and gave the son of his master such an education as was proper for a person of his birth. Mahrattas seldom can write or read; they consider all such learning the business of a carcoon, and if not degrading, at least undignified. Sivajee could never write his name, but he was a good archer and marksman, skilled in the use of the spear, and of the various swords and daggers common in the Deccan. His countrymen have always been celebrated for horsemanship; and, in this accomplishment, Sivajee excelled. By the care of his guardian, he was fully instructed in all the ceremonies and observances enjoined by the

rules of his cast; and such parts of the sacred histories as are generally known, were explained to him. The fabulous exploits detailed in the Mahabharat, the Ramayan, and the Bhagwut were the delight of Sivajee's youth; and such was his partiality for Kuthas *, that many years after he became famous in the country, he incurred great danger in his anxiety to be present during an entertainment of that description.

The religious and natural feelings of a Hindoo were strongly implanted in Sivajee, and he early imbibed a rooted hatred to the Mahomedans. These feelings in part supplied the want of a more exalted patriotism; but although they may have tended to stimulate his own love of enterprize, he did not employ them to animate others, until success had taught him to plan new schemes, and to apply such powerful and natural auxiliaries in their execution.

His first designs were formed merely with a view to personal advantage. From about his sixteenth year, he began to associate with persons of lawless habits, and to talk of becoming an independent Polygar. These circumstances, on being made known to his guardian, produced remonstrances; and Sivajee was obliged to be more cautious in his conversation; he was, however, frequently absent in the Concan for several days; and Dadajee Konedeo endeavoured to wean him from such excursions, by showing him more attention at home, and confiding much of the affairs of the Jagheer to his superintendence.

* See page 21, vol. i., for explanation of this word.

There were several carcoons under Dadajee, intimate companions of Sivajee, who afterwards became his agents and advisers. As he was intrusted with a larger share of power, he used to pay and receive visits among the respectable Mahrattas in the neighbourhood of Poona; and he obtained general good-will in that part of the country, by an obliging and conciliatory deportment; but, even at this time, it was whispered that Shajee's son was a sharer in the profits of some extensive gang robberies committed in the Concan.

Sivajee was always partial to the Mawulees; he observed, that although clownish and stupid in appearance, they were active and intelligent in any thing to which they had been accustomed, and remarkably faithful in situations of trust. He was attentive to those in Dadajee's service; they accompanied him on his excursions, and in hunting; and he became extremely popular, not only with them, but with the whole of their countrymen in the Mawuls. In his visits to these vallies and to different parts of the Ghaut-Mahta and Concan, he grew familiar with the paths and defiles of that wild tract, where he afterwards established himself. He had marked the condition of the adjoining strong holds, and began to devise schemes for getting one of them into his possession.

The hill forts under all the Mahomedan governments were, generally, much neglected. Some of the best had, as already mentioned, a Killidar appointed by the king, or some of his ministers, and when war was expected, a portion of the garrison was composed of good troops. At other times,

less care seemed necessary, and the generality of the forts were intrusted to the Mokassadars, Aumildars, Jagheerdars, or Deshmookhs of the districts in which they were situated.

The reason given for their being seldom garrisoned by Mahomedans was their insalubrity, particularly during the rains; and as they had always been reduced with extraordinary facility, they were not estimated in proportion to their real importance. At the period at which we have arrived, the Beejapoor government, being at peace with the Moghuls, and engaged in plundering, or reducing the Carnatic, had removed all their best troops to that part of the country. There was no hill fort in Shahjee's Jagheer, committed to the care of Dadajee Konedeo. The strong fort of Kondaneh * had a Mahomedan Killidar; and Poorundhur was under charge of a Bramin, appointed by Morar Punt. Shahjee's family were on terms of intimacy with both Killidars, particularly Neelkunt Rao of Poorundhur, who was originally under the Nizam Shahee government, and had adhered to Shahjee.

In the Mawuls were three persons with whom Sivajee constantly associated; their names were, Yessjee Kunk, Tannajee Maloosray, and Bajee Phasalkur. The last was Deshmookh of Moossay Khora; the other two had also some hereditary rights among their native hills. These three were the first known adherents, and military followers of Sivajee. Assisted by them, he held communication with the Killidar of Torna, a hill fort exceedingly

* Now Singurh.

difficult of access, twenty miles southwest of Poona, at the source of the Neera river; and by means, the particulars of which are not known, induced him to give over the place. This event happened in the year 1646.* As soon as they had got possession, Sivajee, who pretended that he was acting for the advantage of government, sent Wukeels to Beejapoor to represent what he had done, and the many benefits likely to result to the king from having a faithful servant in that sequestered part of the country, the value of which had never been ascertained, owing to the farming of districts to Deshmooks whose interest lay in concealing their resources. As a proof of this statement, he offered a much larger rent than had been paid during the ten years which that tract had been in possession of Beejapoor. The answers to these applications were put off from day to day, which suited Sivajee's purpose, as his object was merely to gain time. His representations were seconded by bribes to the courtiers, as usual on such occasions, and for several years little notice was taken of him. †

A. D. 1646.

Whilst the Wukeels were thus amusing the government at Beejapoor, Sivajee was collecting Mawulees and strengthening and repairing Torna. When digging up some ruins in that fort‡, he accidentally discovered a large quantity of gold, which had been buried at some remote period: a piece

* Mahratta MSS.

† Khafee Khan. Beejapoor MSS. and some evidence in Mahratta MSS.

‡ Mahratta MSS. Sivajee called it Pruchundgurh. I have retained the ancient name by which it is still known.

of good fortune attributed to a miracle worked in his favour by the goddess Bhowanee, which afforded great support and encouragement in prosecuting his plans. Arms and ammunition were purchased; and he resolved on employing the money thus bestowed, in building another fort. For this purpose he pitched on the Mountain of Mhorbudh, three miles south east of Torna, and used astonishing exertion in fortifying it. When finished he gave it the name of Rajgurh.

A.D. 1647.

During its progress, reports of what was going forward from time to time reached Beejapoor; the work was forbidden, and letters were despatched to Shahjee in the Carnatic, calling upon him to account for these proceedings: Shahjee replied, that his son had not consulted him; but as he himself and all his family were devoted servants of the king's government, Sivajee, without doubt, had been acting for the improvement or security of the Jagheer. Shahjee, at the same time, wrote to Dadajee Konedeo and his son, censuring the procedings of the latter, desiring an explanation, and calling upon him to desist. Dadajee Konedeo, with the deepest interest in his welfare, urged every argument to induce Sivajee to abandon his designs; he represented the probable ruin, and the certain risk he incurred, by such daring and unjustifiable conduct. He likewise set forth the great prospects which his father's name and respectability presented, in a faithful adherence to the government of Beejapoor. Sivajee answered by fair words; but the old man saw that his purpose was unshaken. Infirm by age, worn

out by disease, and now a prey to anxiety for the fate of his master's house, Dadajee did not long survive. But just before his death, he sent for Sivajee; when so far from dissuading him in his accustomed manner, he advised him to prosecute his plans of independence; to protect Bramins, kine, and cultivators; to preserve the temples of the Hindoos from violation; and to follow the fortune which lay before him. After this, having recommended his family to his young master's care, he expired.

The dying injunctions of Dadajee Konedeo, served to confirm Sivajee in his designs, and gave them a sanction in the eyes of the subordinate officers of the Jagheer, which must have tended materially to raise his character, and perhaps, in some degree, to elevate his motives of action.

He took charge of the Jagheer in his father's name; but very shortly after, on the arrival of messengers from Shahjee to Dadajee Konedeo, requiring the payment of some arrears of revenue, Sivajee sent them back with news of his guardian's death; and on this, and several subsequent occasions, evaded all payments, till at last he informed his father that the expenses of that poor country had so much increased, that he must depend on his more extensive and fertile possessions in the Carnatic.

There were two officers in the Jagheer whom it was of much consequence to gain or to remove, as neither of them, in the first instance, acceded to the views of Sivajee: the one, Phirungajee Nursalla, in charge of the fort of Chakun; the other,

Bajee Mohitey, the brother of Tooka Bye, Shahjee's second wife, manager of the district of Sopa.

Sivajee's emissaries succeeded in corrupting Phirungajee, who tendered his services to their master, and was confirmed in the command of Chakun. He likewise received charge of the revenue management of the adjoining villages, on condition that he should maintain the system of Dadajee Konedeo.

But a more important acquisition than any hitherto made, was obtained by the possession of Kondaneh. It was given up by the Mahomedan Killidar for a large bribe, and Sivajee changed or restored its name to Singurh, or the lion's den*; by which appellation it is still known.

Bajee Mohitey had three hundred good horses: he occupied Sopa: and though he sent civil answers to all messages, he refused to pay the revenue, or listen to any overtures unauthorised by Shahjee. Sivajee, concealing his approach, surrounded Sopa with a party of Mawulees, in the middle of the night, surprised Bajee Mohitey and his whole party, took them prisoners, and sent Mohitey, together with all who did not choose to enter his service, to join his father in the Carnatic.

The revenue officers of Baramuttee and Indapoor, whilst nothing interrupted the usual routine of affairs, appear to have realized the collections, and paid them over at Poona for some time after

* The literal signification would be lion's fort, but the lion's den was the meaning intended by the name which Sivajee gave to Kondaneh: so say the Mahrattas, and it is proved by Sivajee's own words, as we shall find recorded.

Dadajee Konedeo's death, without disputing the authority of Shahjee's son; but these districts, as well as the Pergunna of Sopa, were at a distance from the hills, and too much exposed to be always maintained by Sivajee.

The demise of the Killidar of the fort of Poorundhur happened about the same time as that of Dadajee Konedeo. He left three sons, the eldest of whom, without confirmation from Beejapoor, assumed command of the garrison. The two younger sons claimed an equal right to command, jointly with their brother, and to share in the profits of some fields and pasture lands attached to the fort. They wished Sivajee to assist in arbitrating their differences: and he took a lively interest in their affairs, secretly supporting the younger brothers.

Whilst these disputes were pending, Sivajee, at a fit time, giving out that he was on his route towards Sopa, encamped under Poorundhur, and was, as he had hoped, invited into the fort with a few attendants. When the eldest of the three had retired to rest, Sivajee, in conversation with the other two, represented, that the best expedient for inducing their brother to submit to a fair arbitration, was to make him prisoner; to which the young men eagerly acceded. Sivajee, on pretence of granting them means of completely overawing every attempt at resistance, despatched a messenger to his troops below, and long before morning had a band of Mawulees in possession of the upper and lower forts, the eldest brother a prisoner, and the two younger, with the whole garrison, com-

pletely in his power. Sivajee attempted to excuse this treachery, by avowing his designs of independence; and, although he removed the whole from Poorundhur, he had the address to reconcile them by grants of Enam villages, and to persuade all the brothers to enter his service; in which they afterwards attained some distinction.

All these acquisitions were made without stir or bloodshed; the government districts were not molested. Mohummud Adil Shah was building palaces and mausoleums, or intent on acquisitions in the Carnatic; and the irregularities in the Jagheer of Shahjee, if fully known, were not deemed of magnitude, whilst the Jagheerdar himself was in the power of the king.

Thus did Sivajee obtain possession of the tract between Chakun and the Neera; and the manner in which he established himself, watching and crouching like the wily tiger of his own mountain vallies, until he had stolen into a situation from whence he could at once spring on his prey, accounts both for the difficulty found in tracing his early rise, and the astonishing rapidity with which he extended his power, when his progress had attracted notice, and longer concealment was impossible.

CHAP. IV.

FROM A. D. 1648, TO A. D. 1657.

Local authorities under the Beejapoor government, in the immediate neighbourhood of Sivajee. — The Sawunts of Waree. — The Seedee of Jinjeera. — A daring robbery. — Forts taken by surprise. — The province of Kallian reduced. — Shahjee seized. — Sivajee applies to Shah Jehan for his enlargement. — An attempt to seize Sivajee frustrated. — Shahjee released, — returns to the Carnatic; — his eldest son Sumbhajee killed. Progress of Sivajee. — Murder of the Raja of Jowlee, and conquest of his country. — Rohira escaladed. — Pertabgurh built. — Shamraje Punt the first Mahratta Peishwa. — Sivajee's views on the Moghul districts. — History of the Moghuls in the Deccan since 1636. *— Meer Joomleh. — Moghuls attack Golcondah, — make war on Beejapoor. — Shah Jehan's illness, — his four sons, — all aspire to the crown. — Aurungzebe's character and progress; — usurps the throne.*

THE details contained in the foregoing chapters, have probably enabled the reader to form a sufficiently clear idea of the state of the Deccan, so far as relates to the different great powers which divided it; but, for the sake of perspicuity in what follows, it is necessary to offer a few remarks respecting the various local authorities under the Beejapoor government, in the immediate neighbourhood of the tract occupied by Sivajee.

A. D. 1648. The south bank of the Neera, as far east as Seerwul, and as far south as the range of hills north of the Kistna, was farmed by the hereditary Deshmookh of Hurdus Mawul, named Bandal; and the fort of Rohira was committed to

his care. Having early entertained a jealousy of Sivajee, he kept up a strong garrison, and carefully watched the country adjoining Poorundhur. The Deshmookh was a Mahratta, but the Deshpandya was a Purbhoo (or Purvoe), a tribe of the Shunkerjatee, to whom Sivajee was always partial.

Waee was the station of a Mokassadar of government who had charge of Pandoogurh, Kummulgurh, and several other forts in that neighbourhood.

Chunder Rao Moray, Raja of Jowlee, was in possession of the Ghaut-Mahta from the Kistna to the Warna.

The Kolapoor district, with the strong fort of Panalla, was under a Mahratta officer appointed by government.

The ancient possessions of the Beejapoor state in the Concan, were held in Jagheer, or farmed to the hereditary Deshmookhs, with the exception of the sea ports of Dabul, Anjenweel, Ratnaguiry, and Rajapoor, which, with their dependent districts, were held by government officers. The principal hereditary chiefs were the Sawunts of Waree; they were Deshmookhs and Jagheerdars of the strong tract adjoining the Portuguese territory at Goa, and their harbours were the resort of pirates, early known by the name of Koolees. Next in consequence to the Sawunts, were the Dulweys of Sringarpoor, who, from occupying an unfrequented tract, were, like the Raja of Jowlee, nearly independant.

The province of Kalliannee, formerly belonging to the kings of Ahmednugur, and ceded to Beejapoor by the treaty of 1636, was principally con-

fided to two authorities; the northern part of it, extending fromBheemree (or Bhewndy) to Nagotna (or Nagathanna) was under a respectable Mahomedan officer appointed by the king, and stationed at the town of Kallian Bheemree. He had an extensive charge, comprehending several strong forts both above and below the Ghauts; but these forts, from the causes we have endeavoured to explain, were much neglected. The southern part of the province was held in Jagheer, by an Abyssinian*; the condition of his tenure, as far as can be ascertained, was the maintenance of a marine for the protection of the trade, and conveying pilgrims to the Red Sea. His possessions were not considered hereditary, but were conferred on the most deserving Abyssinian officer of the fleet, and the chief so selected was styled Wuzeer. The crews of his vessels were in part composed of his countrymen; and a small African colony was thus formed in the Concan. The great maritime depôt was the harbour of Dhunda Rajepoor, in the middle of which stands the small fortified island of Jinjeera.† In the vulgar language of the Deccan, all natives of Africa are termed Seedees. The name of the principal Abyssinian, at this time, was Futih Khan,

* It is not exactly known at what period the power of his predecessors commenced; but Hubush Khan, and Seedee Umber, were Abyssinian admirals of the Nizam Shahee fleet, during the time of Mullik Umber; and an Abyssinian officer named Seedee Bulbul was at that time in command of Rairee. Beejapoor MSS.

† Jinjeera, the name by which the place is known in the Deccan, is the Mahratta corruption of the Arabic word *Juzeerah*, an island.

commonly styled the Seedee*, an appellation assumed by the chief and his successors, by which they have been best known to Europeans. The Seedee had charge of several forts, amongst which were Tala, Gossala, and Rairee; they were all intrusted to the care of Mahrattas. †

Thus much being premised, we return to Sivajee, who was secretly, but actively, employed in very extensive plans, in prosecution of which, he was himself busy in collecting and arming Mawulees, whilst some of his Bramins were detached into the Concan, to gain intelligence and forward his views in that quarter.

Having heard that a large treasure was forwarded to court by Moolana Ahmed, governor of Kallian, Sivajee put himself at the head of three hundred horse, taken at Sopa, now mounted with Bargeers on whom he could depend, and, accompanied by a party of Mawulees, he attacked and dispersed the escort, divided the treasure amongst the horsemen, and conveyed it with all expedition to Rajgurh. This daring robbery completely unmasked his designs; but the news had scarcely reached the capital, before it was known that Sivajee had surprised and taken the forts of Kangooree, Toong, Tikona, Bhoorup, Koaree, Loghur,

* Seedee, when assumed by Africans themselves, has an honorable import, being a modification of the Arabic word *syud*, a lord; but, in the common acceptation, it is rather an appellation of reproach than of distinction.

† Khafee Khan, Orme, and a loose traditionary Persian MS. procured from the collector and magistrate of the southern Concan.

and Rajmachee. * Tala, Gossala, and the strong hill of Rairee, were given up to his emissaries: several rich towns were plundered in the Concan; and the booty with great regularity conveyed by the Mawulees to Rajgurh.

But this was not the extent of his designs; or of his success. Abajee Sonedeo, one of the Bramins, educated by Dadajee Konedeo, who had already distinguished himself as much by his boldness as by his address, pushed on to Kallian, surprised the governor, took him prisoner, and procured the surrender of all the forts in that quarter.

As soon as Sivajee received this joyful intelligence, which exceeded his expectations, he hastened to Kallian, and, bestowing the highest encomium on Abajee Sonedeo, appointed him Soobehdar, or governor of the country comprised in this impor-

* The manner of surprising these forts is not satisfactorily explained; but a traditionary account of one of Sivajee's exploits, suggested a like attempt by a body of insurgents in the Concan-Ghaut-Mahta, who took up arms against the Peishwa's government, in modern times, during the administration of Trimbukjee Dainglia. It was usual for the villagers, in the vicinity of the hill-forts, to contribute a quantity of leaves and grass for the purpose of thatching the houses in the fort, a practice said to have prevailed from before the time of Sivajee. The insurgents having corrupted one or two persons of the garrison, a party of them, each loaded with a bundle of grass, having his arms concealed below it, appeared at the gate in the dress of villagers, to deposit, as they pretended, the annual supply; and admittance being thus gained, they surprised the garrison, and possessed themselves of the place. The fort was Prucheetgurh, and the circumstance will be alluded to in its proper place; it is only mentioned here as a stratagem, the original merit of which is ascribed to Sivajee.

tant acquisition. No time was lost in commencing revenue arrangements. Ancient institutions were revived wherever a trace of them could be found; and all endowments to temples, or assignments to Bramins were carefully restored or maintained. As the Seedee was a formidable neighbour, Sivajee, to secure the hold already obtained on his Jagheer, gave orders for building two forts, Beerwaree, near Gossala, and Linganah, near Rairee.

Moolana Ahmed, made prisoner by Abajee Sonedeo, was treated by Sivajee with the utmost respect; and, being honourably dismissed, he returned to court. The news of his capture, and the surrender of the forts, had arrived before him, and although permitted to pay his respects to the king, he was not reinstated in any place of trust or emolument.

Sivajee's rebellion, in consequence of the report of Moolana Ahmed, began to create general anxiety at Beejapoor; but Mohummud Adil Shah, impressed with an idea of its being secretly incited by Shahjee, took no active measures to suppress it by force. The power of Shahjee in the Carnatic, which had greatly increased by his being left as provincial governor, on the return of Rendoollah Khan to court, may have tended to occasion such a suspicion, strengthened also by the circumstance of its having begun in his Jagheer, and spread over a province where his power had so lately been suppressed. *

The king, therefore, sent private orders to Bajee Ghorepuray of Moodhole, then serving in the same

* Mahratta MSS. Khafee Khan, Beejapoor MS. and tradition.

part of the country with Shahjee, to seize and confine him. This object Ghorepuray effected by treachery: he invited Shahjee to an entertainment, and made him prisoner.

A.D. 1649. On being brought to court, Shahjee was urged to suppress his son's rebellion; for which purpose freedom of correspondence was allowed between them. Shahjee persisted in declaring that he was unconnected with his son; that Sivajee was as much in rebellion against him as against the king's government; and recommended his being reduced to obedience by force of arms. Nothing he urged could convince Mohummud Adil Shah of his innocence; and, being enraged at his supposed contumacy, he ordered Shahjee to be confined in a stone dungeon, the door of which was built up, except a small opening; and he was told, that if within a certain period his son did not submit, the aperture should be for ever closed.

Sivajee, when he heard of the imprisonment and danger which threatened his father, is said to have entertained thoughts of submitting; but if he ever seriously intended to adopt such a plan, it was overruled by the opinion of his wife, Suhyee Bye, who represented that he had a better chance of effecting Shahjee's liberty by maintaining his present power, than by trusting to the mercy of a government notoriously treacherous.*

The alternative which Sivajee adopted, developes a principal feature of his early policy. He had

* Mahratta MSS.

hitherto carefully refrained from molesting the subjects or territory of the emperor, probably from an opinion of the great power of the Moghuls, and from a design he appears to have contemplated, of throwing himself on the imperial protection in case of being pushed to extremity by the government of Beejapoor.

He accordingly, at this time, entered into correspondence with Shah Jehan, for the purpose of procuring his father's enlargement. The proposals made by Sivajee are not known, but the emperor agreed to forgive the former misconduct of Shahjee, to admit him into the imperial service, and to give Sivajee a munsub of five thousand horse.*

It is probable that the emperor's influence, and the friendship of Morar Punt†, were the means of saving Shahjee from a cruel death. He was released from his dungeon on giving security; but he was kept a prisoner at large, in Beejapoor, for four years.‡

A. D. 1650. Sivajee, whose immediate object was effected by his father's reprieve, artfully contrived to keep his proposal of entering the Moghul service in an unsettled state, by preferring a claim on the part of his father, or himself, to the Deshmookhs' dues in the Joonere and Ahmednugur

* Original letters of the emperor Shah Jehan to Sivajee.

† Colonel Wilks says Rendoollah Khan. His name in Mahratta MSS. is certainly always mentioned with Morar Punt's, but Rendoollah Khan died in 1643, as appears on his tomb. He had a son or relation who had the same title, but he never attained sufficient rank or influence to have obtained Shahjee's release.

‡ Mahratta MSS.

districts, to which he pretended they had an hereditary right. Sivajee's agent, who went to Agra with this ostensible purpose, did not, as was probably foreseen, succeed in obtaining a promise of the Deshmookhee; but he brought back a letter from Shah Jehan, promising that the claim should be taken into consideration upon Sivajee's arrival at court.*

A.D. 1651. and 1652.

During the four years Shahjee was detained at Beejapoor, Sivajee, apprehensive, perhaps, for his father's safety, committed few aggressions, and the king was, probably, deterred from sending a force against him, lest it should induce Sivajee to give up the country to the Moghuls, which the emperor had sufficient excuse for receiving, on account of arrears of tribute. In this interval, a feeble attempt was made to seize Sivajee's person. It was undertaken by a Hindoo named Bajee Shamraje. Sivajee frequently resided at the town of Mhar in the Concan; and the party of Shamraje, passing through the territory of Chunder Rao Moray, lurked about the Phar Ghaut until an opportunity should offer; but Sivajee anticipated the surprise, attacked the party, near the bottom of the Ghaut, and drove them in great panic to seek safety in the jungles.†

* Original letter from Shah Jehan. The original letters, from Shah Jehan and Arungzebe, to Sivajee, are in the possession of the Raja of Satara. Copies of them are lodged with the Literary Society of Bombay.

† Mahratta MSS.

A. D. 1653. Shahjee had, in vain, endeavoured by every means to obtain permission to return to his Jagheer in the Carnatic, when, at last, the great disturbances which became prevalent in that quarter, induced the king to listen to recommendations in his favour. Previously, however, to granting his complete enlargement, Shahjee was bound down by solemn engagements to refrain from molesting the Jagheerdar of Moodhole; and, in order to induce both parties to bury what had passed in oblivion, Mohummud Adil Shah made them exchange their hereditary rights and enams as Deshmookhs, Shahjee giving those he had received in the districts of Kurar, and Bajee Ghorepuray what he possessed in the Carnatic.*

This agreement, however, was not acted upon; and the first use Shahjee made of his liberty was to write to Sivajee, "If you are my son, punish Bajee Ghorepuray of Moodhole;" an emphatic injunction to vengeance, which Sivajee, at a fit time, carried into terrible execution.

A. D. 1653. On his return to the Carnatic, Shahjee found that the accounts of the disturbed state of the country were not exaggerated; every petty chief endeavoured to strengthen himself, and weaken his neighbour, by plunder and exaction. His own Jagheer had been subject to depredations; and he sent his eldest son Sumbhajee to punish one of these aggressions on the part of

* Copy of the original instrument, and Mahratta MSS.

the Killidar of Kanikgeeree. On this service Sumbhajee was killed, and his detachment defeated. Shahjee afterwards took Kanikgeeree by assault, and avenged his death; but the loss of Sumbhajee was a source of much affliction; and the event was followed by the demise of his principal agent in the Carnatic, Narǫo Punt Hunwuntay, a Bramin, educated in the school of Mullik Umber, who had served Shahjee for many years. His place was fortunately well supplied by his son, Rugonath Narrain, a person of considerable talent, whom we shall have occasion to notice at a future period. Disturbances became more and more prevalent in the Carnatic, and quite diverted the attention of the Beejapoor government from Sivajee; but no sooner was his father released, than he began to devise new schemes for possessing himself of the whole Ghaut-Mahta, and the remainder of the Concan.

A. D. 1655. He had, in vain, attempted to induce the Raja of Jowlee to unite with him against the Beejapoor government; Chunder Rao, although he carried on no war against Sivajee, and received all his messengers with civility, refused to join in rebellion against the king. The permission granted to Shamraje's party to pass through his country, and the aid which he was said to have given him, afforded Sivajee excuse for hostility; but the Raja was too powerful to be openly attacked with any certain prospect of success; he had a strong body of infantry, of nearly the same description as Sivajee's Mawulees; his two sons, his brother, and his minister, Himmut Rao, were

all esteemed good soldiers; nor did there appear any means by which Sivajee could create a division among them.

Under these circumstances, Sivajee, who had held his troops in a state of preparation for some time, sent two agents, a Bramin and a Mahratta, the former named Ragoo Bullal, the latter Sumbhajee Cowajee, for the purpose of gaining correct intelligence of the situation and strength of the principal places, but ostensibly with a design of contracting a marriage between Sivajee and the daughter of Chunder Rao.

Ragoo Bullal, with his companion, proceeded to Jowlee, attended by twenty five Mawulees. They were courteously received, and had several interviews with Chunder Rao, the particulars of which are not mentioned, but Ragoo Bullal seeing the Raja totally off his guard, formed the detestible plan of assassinating him and his brother, to which Sumbhajee Cowajee readily acceded. He wrote to Sivajee communicating his intention, which was approved, and in order to support it, troops were secretly sent up the Ghauts, whilst Sivajee, pretending to be otherwise engaged, proceeded from Rajgurh to Poorundhur. From the latter place he made a night-march to Mahabyllisur, at the source of the Kistna, where he joined his troops assembled in the neighbouring jungles. Ragoo Bullal, on finding that the preparations were completed, took an opportunity of demanding a private conference with the Raja and his brother, when he stabbed the former to the heart, and the latter was despatched by Sumbhajee Cowajee. Their attend-

ants being previously ready, the assassins instantly fled, and darting into the thick jungles, which every where surrounded the place, they soon met Sivajee, who, according to appointment, was advancing to their support.

Before the consternation caused by this atrocious deed had subsided, Jowlee was attacked on all sides; but the troops headed by the Raja's sons and Himmut Rao, notwithstanding the surprise, made a brave resistance until Himmut Rao fell, and the sons were made prisoners.

Sivajee lost no time in securing the possessions of the late Chunder Rao, which was effected in a very short period. The capture of the strong fort of Wassota *, and the submission of Sewtur Khora, completed the conquest of Jowlee.

The sons of Chunder Rao, who remained prisoners, were subsequently condemned to death, for maintaining a secret correspondence with the Beejapoor government; but the date of their execution has not been satisfactorily ascertained. Sivajee followed up this conquest by surprising Rohira, which he escaladed in the night, at the head of his Mawulees; Bandal, the Deshmookh, who was in the fort at the time, stood to his arms on the first moment of alarm; and although greatly outnumbered, his men did not submit until he was killed. At the head of them was Bajee Purvoe, the Deshpandya; Sivajee treated him with generosity, received him with great kindness, and confirmed him in all his hereditary possessions. He had relations

* Sivajee called it Wujrgurh, a name which it has not retained.

with Sivajee, and afterwards agreed to follow the fortunes of his conqueror; the command of a considerable body of infantry was conferred upon him; and he maintained his character for bravery and fidelity to the last.

A. D. 1656. To secure access to his possessions on the banks of the Neera and Quyna, and to strengthen the defences of the Phar Ghaut, Sivajee pitched upon a high rock, near the source of the Kistna, on which he resolved to erect another fort. The execution of the design was intrusted to a Deshist Bramin, named Moro Trimmul Pingley, who had been appointed a short time before, to command the fort of Poorundhur. This man, when very young, accompanied his father, then in the service of Shahjee, to the Carnatic, whence he returned to the Mahratta country about the year 1653, and shortly after joined Sivajee. The able manner in which he executed every thing intrusted to him, soon gained him the confidence of his master, and the erection of Pertabgurh, the name given to the new fort, confirmed the favourable opinion entertained of him.

The principal minister of Sivajee, at this period, was a Bramin, named Shamraje Punt, whom he now dignified with the title of Peishwa; and, as is common amongst Mahrattas, with persons filling such a high civil station, he likewise held a considerable military command.

A. D. 1657. Hitherto, Sivajee had confined his usurpations and ravages to the Beejapoor territory; but become more daring by impunity, and invited by circumstances, he ven-

tured to depart from his original policy, and to extend his depredations to the imperial districts. To explain the motives which actuated him, we must revert to the proceedings of the Moghuls.

Since the peace of 1636, they had held
(1636.) undisturbed possession of their conquests in the Deccan, and had been laudably employed in improving these acquisitions.

The prince Aurungzebe, after an expedition against Kandahar, was appointed viceroy of the Deccan for the second time, in the year 1650,
(1650.) and for several years abated nothing of the active measures which had been adopted for fixing equitable assessments, and affording protection to travellers and merchants. He established the seat of government at Mullik Umber's town of Khirkee, which, after his own name, he called Aurungabad.* But, however capable of civil government, Aurungzebe was early habituated to the interest which is generally excited in the human mind by having once acted as a leader in war; and in the year 1655, he readily seized an
(1655.) opportunity of fomenting dissensions at the neighbouring court of Golcondah, with the hope of involving the emperor in the dispute. At this period, the prime minister of Kootub Shah was the celebrated Meer Joomleh; he had attained that situation by his ability and his wealth; but he had considerable influence, and was held in very general esteem at every Mahomedan court in Asia. He was originally a dia-

* Futih Khan had before changed the name to Futihnugur, which it did not retain. Beejapoor MS.

mond merchant, and his occupation brought him acquainted with princes and their countries. His talents, his riches, and the extent of his dealings, had made him familiarly known at the imperial court, long before he rose to be vizier at Golcondah.

His son, Mohummud Amin, was dissolute, but he possessed his father's confidence. This youth, having been guilty of some disrespect to the person, or authority of Abdoollah Kootub Shah, the latter thought fit to punish him. This treatment being resented by Meer Joomleh, altercation arose between him and the king, which, at length, led to a formal petition, on the part of the former, for the emperor's protection. The application being warmly seconded by Aurungzebe, laid the foundation of that friendship between him and Meer Joomleh, which greatly contributed to Aurungzebe's elevation.

Shah Jehan espoused the cause of Meer Joomleh as ardently as Aurungzebe could have desired, and addressed an imperious letter to Kootub Shah on the subject. The king, exasperated by this interference, threw Mohummud Amin into prison, and sequestrated his father's property. Such a proceeding, exaggerated by the colouring which Aurungzebe gave to it, could not fail to rouse the anger of Shah Jehan, and he immediately determined on enforcing compliance with the orders he had sent in favour of Meer Joomleh. A choleric despot is prompt in his commands: Aurungzebe was ordered to prepare his army, to demand the release of Mohummud Amin, and satisfaction to

Meer Joomleh. In case of refusal, he was directed to invade the territory of Golcondah.

As the king would not acknowledge the emperor's right of interference, Aurungzebe, on his rejecting the mandate, without any declaration of war, sent forward his eldest son, Sultan Mohummud, with a considerable force, on pretence of passing Hyderabad, on the route to Bengal, whither it was given out, he was proceeding to espouse his cousin the daughter of Sultan Shuja. Aurungzebe followed with the main army.

Abdoollah Kootub Shah did not discover the artifice until the young prince appeared as an enemy at his gates; when he solicited succour from his neighbours, and made concessions to the Moghuls, in the same breath. The citadel was attacked, and the town of Hyderabad plundered of great riches; the advancing succours were intercepted, and the king reduced to the greatest distress.

Shah Jehan, the first ebullition of his anger being subsided, began to repent of his hasty orders. Fresh instructions were despatched to Aurungzebe, desiring him to accept of reasonable concessions from Abdoollah Kootub Shah, and not to proceed to extremities; but Aurungzebe would not relinquish the advantage which his successful surprise had established, until he had extorted the most humiliating submission.

The king of Golcondah had, in the first instance, on the prince's arrival, released Mohummud Amin, and restored his father's property. He was now compelled to give his daughter in marriage to Sultan Mohummud, and to pay up all ar-

rears of tribute, fixed by Aurungzebe, at the annual sum of one crore of rupees; but Shah Jehan, in confirming these proceedings, remitted twenty lacks of the amount.

(1656.) Meer Joomleh and Aurungzebe concurred in their ideas of the facility and expediency of reducing the kingdoms of Beejapoor and Golcondah into provinces of the Moghul empire, and of spreading their conquests over the whole peninsula; but Aurungzebe pretended to be actuated more by the hope of propagating the Mahomedan faith in that region of idolatry, than swayed by a desire of possessing its resources. Meer Joomleh having been invited to the imperial court, was shortly after raised to the rank of vizier, and took every opportunity of urging the fitness of a plan, in which both he and Aurungzebe, probably calculated their own future advantage. A very short period had elapsed when an event occurred, which drew the emperor partially to accede to their schemes of conquest, and induced him to authorise a war. This was the death of Mohummud Adil Shah, who, after a lingering illness, expired at Beejapoor, 4th November, 1656.*

The deceased king, although his tribute was not paid with regularity, had, since the peace of 1636, cultivated a good understanding with Shah Jehan, whom he courted through the influence of his eldest and favorite son, Dara Shekoh. This proceeding, in consequence of a secret jealousy between the brothers, drew upon Beejapoor, inde-

* Beejapoor MSS.

pendent of its being an object of his ambition, the personal enmity of Aurungzebe.

Mohummud Adil Shah was succeeded by his son, Sultan Ali Adil Shah the II.; who, immediately after his father's death, mounted the throne of Beejapoor, in the nineteenth year of his age. The resources of his kingdom were still considerable; he had a large treasury, a fertile country, and his army, had it been properly concentrated, was powerful. The troops, however, were greatly divided, and large bodies of them were then employed in reducing the refractory Zumeendars in the Carnatic.*

As the throne was filled without complimentary reference, or the observance of any homage to which the emperor pretended a right of claim, agreeably, as he maintained, to an admisson on the part of Mohummud Adil Shah, it was given out by the Moghuls, that Ali Adil Shah was not the son of the late king, and that the emperor must nominate a successor. The same circumstance is noticed in the works of contemporary European travellers†; but probably obtained from Moghul reports of that period, as nothing of the kind is alluded to in any of the Beejapoor writings, or in Mahratta manuscripts. This war, on the part of the Moghuls, appears to have been more completely destitute of apology than is commonly found, even

* Beejapoor MS.

† Tavernier. Bernier. It is perhaps the same vulgar story, which Fryer relates regarding the son of Ali Adil Shah, and probably equally unfounded. See Fryer, p. 169.

in the unprincipled transactions of Asiatic governments.

Meer Joomleh, by the emperor's express appointment, and for a cause hereafter explained, was at the head of the army destined for the reduction of Beejapoor, in which Aurungzebe was only second in command. But Aurungzebe and Meer Joomleh had a secret understanding; the authority of the latter was nominal, that of the former supreme.

On the unexpected approach of the Moghuls, hasty preparations were made by the court of Beejapoor; but no army could be assembled sufficient to cope with them in the field. Strong garrisons were, therefore, thrown into the frontier places expected to be invested, whilst, in order to succour them with such horse as were in readiness, Khan Mohummud, the principal general, and several Mahomedan officers of note, took the field with all expedition. Shirzee Rao Ghatgay, Bajee Ghorepuray, Nimbalkur, and other Mahratta Jagheerdars promptly joined him with their troops. *

A. D. 1657. Aurungzebe was prepared to advance by the month of March 1657, and proceeded towards the frontier of the Beejapoor territory by the eastern route. The fort of Kallian was reduced almost immediately, and Beder, the garrison on which most dependence was placed, fell to the Moghuls in one day, owing, it is said, to an accidental explosion of the principal magazine.

* Beejapoor MS.

Aurungzebe* was greatly elated by this unexpected success; and his progress was expedited by every possible exertion. Kulburga was carried by assault, and no time was lost in prosecuting his march. The attack of the horse, who now began to annoy him, presented greater obstacles than any he had yet experienced; but he succeeded in corrupting Khan Mohummud, the prime minister and general of Beejapoor, who shamefully neglected every opportunity by which he might have impeded the march of the Moghuls. †

Some of the officers continued to exert themselves until they had suffered by an entire want of support, when the road was left open for Aurungzebe, by whom the capital was invested before the inhabitants had leisure to make their usual preparations of destroying the water, and bringing the forage, from the neighbourhood, within the gates.

The siege was pressed with great vigour, and the king sued for peace in the most humble manner, offering to pay down one crore of rupees, and to make any sacrifice demanded; but Aurungzebe was aiming at nothing short of the complete reduction of the place, when an event occurred which suddenly obliged him to change his resolution. This circumstance was the supposed mortal illness

* In a letter to Sivajee he thus announces it: "The fort of Beder, which is accounted impregnable, and which is the key to the conquest of the Deccan and Carnatic, has been captured by me in one day, both fort and town, which was scarcely to have been expected without one year's fighting." Original letter from Aurungzebe to Sivajee.

† Beejapoor MS.

of the emperor, news of which, at this important moment, reached Aurungzebe, having been privately despatched by his sister Roshunara Begum.

Shah Jehan had four sons, Dara Shekoh, then with his father at Agra, Sultan Shuja, viceroy of Bengal, Aurungzebe employed as we have seen, and Sultan Moraud, governor of Guzerat. As all the sons aspired to the crown, each of them now assembled an army to assert his pretensions. Dara Shekoh, as soon as his father's life was in danger, assumed the entire powers of the state; but he had previously been vested with great authority. To his influence was ascribed the order which obliged Aurungzebe to desist from the siege of Golcondah, and also the appointment of Meer Joomleh over his brother to the command of the army, at this time employed against Beejapoor. He was jealous of all his brothers, but he dreaded Aurungzebe. His apprehensions were well founded; the ambitious character of that prince, masked under the veil of moderation and religious zeal, was an over-match for the open and brave, but imprudent and rash disposition of Dara. The latter openly professed the liberal tenets which the court of Agra had derived from Akber, but which ill-accorded with the religious feelings of most of the Mahomedans in the imperial service. Aurungzebe perceived and took advantage of this circumstance, carrying his observances of the forms enjoined by the Koran to rigid austerity, and having, or pretending to have, nothing so much at heart as the interests of religion, and the progagation of the faith of Islam. One of the first

acts of Dara was to issue an order recalling Meer Joomleh and all the principal officers serving in the Deccan; a measure to which he may have been in some degree induced by partiality towards Beejapoor, as well as by hatred to his rival brother. Aurungzebe, by the advice of Meer Joomleh, immediately resolved on counteracting this order by marching to the Moghul capital. His first step was to accept the overtures of Ali Adil Shah, from whom he obtained a considerable supply of ready money, and concluded a treaty, by which he relinquished the advantages he had gained, and in a few days was on his march towards the Nerbuddah. As the family of Meer Joomleh were at Agra, in the power of Dara, the former suffered himself to be confined by Aurungzebe in the fort of Doulutabad, where Aurungzebe also lodged his own younger children and the ladies of his family. His second son, Sultan Mauzum, was left in charge of the government of Aurungabad. Aurungzebe's first care was to deceive his brother Moraud Buklish, into a belief of his having no design upon the crown for himself; that such views were wholly inconsistent with the religious seclusion he had long meditated; that self-defence against the enemy, their brother Dara, obliged him to take up arms, and that he would join to assist in placing Moraud Bukhsh on the throne. Accordingly, their forces having united, they defeated the Imperial armies in two pitched battles. Dara became a fugitive; and although he afterwards assembled an army, he was again defeated, and at last betrayed into the hands of Aurungzebe, by whose orders he was put to

death. Shah Jehan, contrary to expectation, recovered from his illness, and during the advance of his sons, sent repeated orders, commanding them to return to their governments; but to these mandates they paid no attention, as they pretended to consider them forgeries by Dara. As soon as Aurungzebe had his father in his power, he imprisoned Moraud Bukhsh, gained over his army, deposed the emperor, and mounted the throne in the year 1658. * Having sent for Meer Joomleh from the Deccan, they marched against his brother Shuja, discomfited his army, and forced him to fly to Arracan, where he was murdered, and Aurungzebe was thus left undisputed master of the empire.

A. D. 1658.

* There is a good deal of confusion in the dates of the reign of Aurungzebe, owing to its commencement having been frequently reckoned from 1659. Khafee Khan is, in consequence, sometimes thrown out one or two years. Aurungzebe appears to have begun by reckoning his reign from the date of his victory over Dara, to have subsequently ascended the throne in the following year, and then changed the date, which he again altered, by reverting to the former date, at some later and unknown period.

CHAP. V.

FROM A. D. 1657. TO A. D. 1662.

Sivajee enters into a correspondence with Aurungzebe — commits hostilities on the Moghuls by plundering Joonere and Ahmednugur — augments his cavalry — Political artifice of Sivajee and of Aurungzebe. — Sivajee entertains a body of Patans. — Factions at Beejapoor. — Khan Mohummud the prime minister put to death. — Shamraje Punt defeated by the Seedee. — Moro Trimmul Pingley appointed Peishwa. — Treaty with the Sawunts, — which they break. — Expedition against Sivajee. — Afzool Khan, the Beejapoor general, seduced to a conference and murdered. — Sivajee gets possession of Panalla — defeats Roostum Zuman — plunders to the gates of Beejapoor — levies a contribution from Rajapoor — takes Dabul. — Another expedition against him under Seedee Johur — besieged in Panalla — escapes from the fort — gallant conduct of his rear guard — heroic death of Bajee Purvoe. — Ali Adil Shah takes the field — reduces the country lately over-run by Sivajee — and retakes Panalla. — Sivajee takes Rajapoor — conquers Sringarpoor — and reduces Dhunda Rajepoor — kills Ghorepuray, and burns Moodhole. — Conquest of Waree. — Truce with Beejapoor. — Shahjee visits Sivajee. — Raighur. — Sivajee's territory and army. — The Moghuls.

A. D. 1657. At the time when Aurungzebe was on the point of commencing the war against Beejapoor, Sivajee, professing himself a servant of the emperor, entered into a correspondence with that prince, who readily listened to his overtures, assented to his keeping what he had wrested from Beejapoor, and, with the alleged right of the emperor to dispose of that kingdom, consented to a proposal from Sivajee of taking pos-

session of Dabul and its depedencies* on the sea coast.

Aurungzebe was particularly desirous of having an interview with Sivajee, for the purpose of explaining how essentially their interests were allied, and the vast advantages the latter might expect to reap by uniting with him. † But Sivajee, although he professed obedience, and humbly demeaned himself towards Aurungzebe, no sooner saw the army at a distance, and ready to engage in what he hoped would prove a long struggle, than he resolved on seizing this opportunity of augmenting his resources by plunder, and increasing his cavalry. Of the latter, he at this time had but a small number, and partly from want of confidence in his countrymen, as well as want of funds, he did not at first attempt to raise them on the usual footing of Sillidars. ‡

The first act of hostility which Sivajee committed against the Moghuls was in May, 1657, when he one night surprised and plundered the town of Joonere, carrying off three lacks of pagodas in specie, two hundred horses, some valuable clothes, and other articles. This booty he escorted as far as Poona, where he gave it in charge to a party prepared for the purpose, who conveyed it to Rajgurh. Sivajee himself marched by unfrequented roads to Ahmednugur, in hopes of surprising the Pettah: but in this attempt he was only partially

* Original letter from Aurungzebe to Sivajee.

† Original letter from Aurungzebe to Sivajee. Mahratta MSS.

‡ Mahratta MSS.

successful; he was attacked whilst his men were plundering; but he had secured seven hundred horses and four elephants, with which he got clear off, although several of his party were killed by a detachment from the fort, which had, on the first alarm, been sent out to protect the town.

On Sivajee's return to Poona, he used great exertions to increase his cavalry; he purchased horses in all quarters, and mounted them with Bargeers of his own: he now also commenced entertaining Mahratta Sillidars. Mankojee Dutonday, an old officer, who had served with his father, had commanded his small body of horse for several years, with the title of Surnobut; but, at his death, Sivajee appointed as his successor, Netajee Palkur, an enterprizing officer, who had considerable influence with the Sillidars in various parts of the country, but a man naturally cruel and unprincipled.

The unexpected success of the Moghuls, and the danger which threatened Beejapoor alarmed Sivajee. He made every preparation to augment his army, but he wrote to Aurungzebe in the most humble strain, begging forgiveness for what had passed, and promising to continue stedfast in his allegiance for the future. Rugonath Punt, one of his confidential wukeels, was dispatched to reiterate these assurances.

The news from Agra, the peace with Beejapoor, and the march of Aurungzebe to the northward, altered the face of affairs. Sivajee sent another ambassador, Kistnajee Bhaskur, professing, as before, his extreme regret for what had happened; mentioning his having prepared a body of horse,

offering to assist Aurungzebe in the present exigency, and to protect the imperial territories during his absence; but he at the same time revived his pretensions to certain hereditary claims within the Moghul districts, and pointed out the Deshmookhee, and some part of the family Jagheer, as a fit recompence for serving with his troops. The ambassador was likewise instructed to represent how much many parts of the Concan were mismanaged by Adil Khan, and the great advantage of transferring the whole to Sivajee.

A. D. 1658. Aurungzebe was in no condition to resent such arrogant demands; but conceiving that security to the Imperial territory would be best consulted by encouraging Sivajee's aggressions on the Beejapoor government, and by amusing him with hopes of obtaining what he claimed in the Moghul districts, he wrote to him, artfully acknowledging, in the same letter, the communications made by Rugonath Punt and Kistnajee Bhaskur, condescending to pardon his crimes, assenting to his taking possession of the Concan, and desiring that Sona Pundit (Abajee Sonedeo) might be sent to discuss his hereditary claims; that when the terms were concluded, Sivajee should send five hundred horse to join his army, and be prepared with the rest of his troops to maintain order and tranquillity in the imperial districts.*

* Mahratta MSS., and original letter from Aurungzebe written immediately after the battle with Jeswunt Sing and Kassim Khan, which happened, not near the Nerbuddah, as Colonel Dow seems to conclude, but within twelve miles of Oojein.

It is not probable that either party was deceived, as no further agreement was concluded. Sivajee, however, prepared his troops for the purpose of reducing the Concan, and occupied several neglected strong-holds on the sea coast, where he afterwards collected boats for purposes of piracy. He acquired a considerable accession to his force by being joined by seven hundred Patan infantry, whom the Beejapoor government discharged immediately after the departure of Aurungzebe. Sivajee hesitated in entertaining these Mahomedans; but his scruples were overruled by the judicious arguments of Gomajee Naik, an old retainer of his maternal grandfather, Jadow Rao, who had been the faithful adherent of Jeejee Bye during the many dangers of her eventful life. Sivajee, from this time, admitted a portion of Mahomedans into his service, and the advice of Gomajee afterwards proved of infinite importance to the success of the Mahrattas. The body of Patans were placed under a Bramin commander, Ragoo Bullal, the murderer of Chunder Rao Moray. *

The government of Beejapoor was distracted and weakened by a treacherous, factious nobility, and Ali Adil Shah's youth was ill-calculated to control them. As soon as Aurungzebe retired, when they might have sent an army to crush Sivajee's formidable rebellion, their time was occupied in plotting the ruin of each other. Khan Mohummud, the prime minister, who had betrayed the cause of his king, was justly condemned, but, instead of being

* Mahratta MSS.

tried in any regular manner, he was invited to court under promise of protection, attacked by a band of assassins at the gate of the city, torn down from the elephant on which he sat, and put to death in the most barbarous manner.

Khan Mohummud was originally an Abyssinian slave, named Rehan, given by Ibrahim Adil Shah to his son Mohummud, whose minister he afterwards became. The young king did not, as is usual on such occasions, sequestrate his estate; it was bestowed on his son Khowaus Khan, but the execution of his father rankled in the bosom of the son, who was always suspicious of the king, and necessity alone reconciled them to each other. *

Sivajee, in pursuance of his plan for reducing the Concan, sent a large force under the Peishwa, Shamraje Punt, to invade the possessions of the Seedee. But Shamraje Punt was unfit for such an undertaking; Futih Khan was prepared, an-
1659. ticipated the attack, and defeated the Peishwa's army with great slaughter.

This reverse was the first which Sivajee had experienced, and he was proportionally disappointed; but every exertion was used to repair the disaster. He sent a fresh body of troops to join the fugitives; Rugonath Punt was directed to assume command of the whole: Shamraje Punt was recalled, disgraced, and removed from the office of Peishwa, which was now bestowed on Moro Trimmul Pingley. Previously to the defeat of Shamraje Punt, the Sawunts (Deshmookhs, and Jagheer-

* Beejapoor MSS.

dars of Waree), on learning the great preparations of Sivajee, and supineness of their own government, sent a wukeel for the purpose of negotiating a treaty, to which Sivajee readily assented, and it was settled that one half the revenue should belong to Sivajee, and be collected by his agents, whilst the other half, exclusive of their Deshmookhee rights, which were also yielded to them, should remain to the Sawunts. For these concessions they became bound to keep up garrisons in the forts, and a body of three thousand infantry, liable to be called upon for service at the shortest notice. * But they soon repented of this alliance; and although they did not act against Sivajee in the ensuing season, they did not abide by the terms of their agreement, and shortly after resumed their allegiance to Beejapoor.

The Seedee maintained his ground against Rugonath Punt, and both parties retired on the setting in of the monsoon. During the rains, a great army was prepared under the joint command of the Peishwa and Netajee Palkur; but as the season continued unusually severe, the Seedee's possessions remained unmolested; and in the meantime, Sivajee was threatened by a more formidable enemy, to whom all his attention was directed.

The Beejapoor government had at last become sensible of the necessity of making an active effort to subdue him, and for this purpose, an army was assembled, consisting of five thousand horse, and seven thousand choice infantry, a good train of

* Copy of the original treaty.

artillery, or what was considered as such, besides a large supply of rockets, a number of swivels mounted on camels, and abundance of stores. Afzool Khan, an officer of high rank, volunteered to command the expedition, and at his public audience of leave, in the vaunting manner particularly common to Mahomedan natives of the Deccan, pompously declared that he should bring back the insignificant rebel, and cast him in chains under the footstool of the throne.

Sept. To avoid impediments which present themselves on the straight route from Beejapoor, and the heavy rains which seldom subside in the neighbourhood of the hills till the end of October, the army proceeded to Punderpoor, and thence marched towards Waee.

Sivajee, on its approach, took up his residence in Pertabgurh, and sent the most humble messages to Afzool Khan. He pretended to have no thought of opposing so great a personage, and seemed only anxious to make his peace with the Beejapoor government, through the Khan's mediation; he affected the utmost sorrow for his conduct, which he could hardly persuade himself would be forgiven by the king, even if the Khan should receive him under the shadow of his protection; but he would surrender the whole of his country to the Khan, were it possible to assure himself of his favour.

Afzool Khan had all the vanity of a Mahomedan noble; he had, also, a thorough contempt for his enemy; but having formerly been in charge of the Waee district, as Soobehdar of the province, he

was aware of the exceeding difficulty he should experience on his advance through the wild country which he must penetrate.

With such considerations, and mollified by Sivajee's submission, Afzool Khan, in answer to repeated applications, despatched a Bramin in his own service, named Puntojee Gopinat, with suitable attendants, to Pertabgurh. On his arrival at Phar, a village below the fort, Sivajee came down to meet him. The Bramin stated, that the Khan his master, and Shahjee were intimate friends, that the Khan bore no enmity towards his son, but on the contrary, would prove his desire to assist him by interceding for pardon, and even endeavouring to get him confirmed as Jagheerdar in part of the territory he had usurped. Sivajee acknowledged his obligation, although his reply, at this public meeting, was not couched in the same humble strain he had used in his messages. He said, that if he could obtain a part of the country in Jagheer it would be all he could expect; that he was the king's servant, and that he had been of considerable use to his government, in reducing several Polygars, whose territory would now come under the royal authority. This was the substance of what passed at their first interview.

Oct. Sivajee provided accommodations for the envoy and his suite, but assigned a place for the Bramin at some distance from the rest. In the middle of the night Sivajee secretly introduced himself to Puntojee Gopinat. He addressed him as a Bramin, his superior. He represented, that "all he had done was for the sake of

Hindoos and the Hindoo faith; that he was called on by Bhowanee herself, to protect Bramins and kine, to punish the violators of their temples and their gods, and to resist the enemies of their religion; that it became him as a Bramin to assist in what was already declared by the deity; and that here, amongst his cast and countrymen, he should hereafter live in comfort and affluence." Sivajee seconded his arguments with presents, and a solemn promise of bestowing the village of Hewra, in Enam, on him and his posterity for ever. No Bramin could resist such an appeal, seconded by such temptation; the envoy swore fidelity to Sivajee, declared he was his for ever, and called on the goddess to punish him if he swerved from any task he might impose. They accordingly consulted on the fittest means for averting the present danger. The Bramin, fully acquainted with Afzool Khan's character, suggested the practicability of seducing him to a conference, and Sivajee at once determined on his scheme. He sent for a confidential Bramin already mentioned, Kistnajee Bhaskur, informed him of what had just passed, and of the resolution which he had, in consequence, adopted. After fully consulting on the subject, they separated as secretly as they had met.

Some interviews and discussions having taken place, merely for the purpose of masking their design, Kistnajee Bhaskur, as Sivajee's wukeel, was despatched with Puntojee Gopinat to the camp of Afzool Khan. The latter represented Sivajee as in great alarm; but if his fears could be overcome by the personal assurances of the Khan, he

was convinced that he might easily be prevailed upon to give himself up. With a blind confidence, Afzool Khan trusted himself to Puntojee's guidance. An interview was agreed upon, and the Beejapoor troops, with great labour, moved to Jowlee. Sivajee prepared a place for the meeting, below the fort of Pertabgurh; he cut down the jungle, and cleared a road for the Khan's approach; but every other avenue to the place was carefully closed. He ordered up Moro Punt, and Netajee Palkur from the Concan, with many thousands of the Mawulee infantry. He communicated his whole plan to these two, and to Tannajee Maloosray. Netajee was stationed in the thickets a little to the east of the fort, where it was expected that a part of the Khan's retinue would advance, and Moro Trimmul, with the old and tried men, was sent to conceal himself in the neighbourhood of the main body of the Beejapoor troops, which remained, as had been agreed upon, in the neighbourhood of Jowlee. The preconcerted signal for Netajee was the blast of a collerie horn, and the distant attack, by Moro Trimmul, was to commence, on hearing the fire of five guns from Pertabgurh, which were also to announce Sivajee's safety.

Fifteen hundred of Afzool Khan's troops accompanied him to within a few hundred yards of Pertabgurh, where, for fear of alarming Sivajee, they were, at Puntojee Gopinat's suggestion, desired to halt. Afzool Khan, dressed in a thin muslin garment, armed only with his sword, and attended, as had been agreed, by a single armed follower,

advanced in his palanquin to an open bungalow prepared for the occasion.

Sivajee had made preparations for his purpose, not as if conscious that he meditated a criminal and treacherous deed, but as if resolved on some meritorious though desperate action. Having performed his ablutions with much earnestness, he laid his head at his mother's feet and besought her blessing. He then arose, put on a steel chain cap and chain armour under his turban and cotton gown, concealed a crooked dagger, or *beechwa**, in his right sleeve, and on the fingers of his left hand he fixed a *wagnuck* †, a treacherous weapon well known among Mahrattas. Thus accoutred, he slowly descended from the fort. The Khan had arrived at the place of meeting before him, and was expressing his impatience at the delay, when Sivajee was seen advancing, apparently unarmed, and like the Khan, attended by only one armed follower, his tried friend Tannajee Maloosray. Sivajee, in view of Afzool Khan, frequently stopped, which was represented as the effects of alarm, a supposition more likely to be admitted from his diminutive size. Under pretence of assuring Sivajee, the armed attendant, by the contrivance of the Bramin, stood at a few paces distance. Afzool Khan made no objection to Sivajee's follower, although he carried two swords

* The Beechwa, or scorpion, is aptly named in its resemblance to that reptile.

† The Wagnuck, or tiger's claws, is a small steel instrument, made to fit on the fore and little finger. It has three crooked blades which are easily concealed in a half closed hand.

in his waistband, a circumstance which might pass unnoticed, being common amongst Mahrattas; he advanced two or three paces to meet Sivajee; they were introduced, and in the midst of the customary embrace, the treacherous Mahratta struck the wagnuck into the bowels of Afzool Khan, who quickly disengaged himself, clapped his hand on his sword, exclaiming treachery and murder, but Sivajee instantly followed up the blow with his dagger. The Khan had drawn his sword and made a cut at Sivajee, but the concealed armour was proof against the blow; the whole was the work of a moment, and Sivajee was wresting the weapon from the hand of his victim before their attendants could run towards them. Syud Bundoo, the follower of the Khan, whose name deserves to be recorded, refused his life on condition of surrender, and against two such swordsmen as Sivajee and his companion, maintained an unequal combat for some time before he fell. The bearers had lifted the Khan into his palanquin during the scuffle, but by the time it was over, Khundoo Malley, and some other followers of Sivajee, had come up, when they cut off the head of the dying man, and carried it to Pertabgurh. The signals agreed on were now made; the Mawulees rushed from their concealment and beset the nearest part of the Beejapoor troops on all sides, few of whom had time to mount their horses, or stand to their arms. Netajee Palkur gave no quarter; but orders were sent to Moro Punt to spare all who submitted; and Sivajee's humanity to his prisoners was con-

spicuous on this, as well as on most occasions.* Many of those that had attempted to escape were brought in for several days afterwards, in a state of great wretchedness, from wandering in wilds where they found it impossible to extricate themselves. Their reception and treatment induced many of the Mahratta prisoners to enter Sivajee's service. The most distinguished Mahratta taken was Joojhar Rao Ghatgay, whose father had been the intimate friend of Shahjee; but Sivajee could not induce him to depart from his allegiance to Beejapoor; he was, therefore, permitted, at his own request, to return, after he had been honourably dismissed with valuable presents. The son and family of Afzool Khan were taken by Khundoojee Kakray, one of Sivajee's officers; but, on being offered a large bribe, he agreed to guide them to a place of safety, and led them by unfrequented paths across the mountains, and along the banks of the Quyna, until he safely lodged them in Kurar. The circumstances, however, became known to Sivajee, and Kakray was, in consequence, condemned to lose his head; a sentence which was promptly executed.

This success among a people who cared little for the means by which it was attained, greatly raised the reputation of Sivajee; and the immediate fruits of it were four thousand horses, several elephants, a number of camels, a considerable treasure, and

* The occasions where Sivajee was ever known to exercise cruelty to prisoners, were those where he supposed them to be obstinately concealing wealth, which he was determined to extort.

the whole train of equipment which had been sent against him.

Such of his troops as were wounded, he, on this occasion, distinguished by honorary presents of bracelets, necklaces, chains of gold and silver, and clothes. These were presented with much ceremony, and served to stimulate future exertion amongst his soldiers, as well as to give greater effect to the fame of his exploit. It is worthy of remark, that the sword of Afzool Khan is still a valued trophy in the armoury of Sivajee's descendant. Puntojee Gopinat received the promised grant in reward for his treachery, and was afterwards promoted to considerable rank in the service. *

Sivajee prepared his troops as if to attack the Seedee, who, on the approach of Afzool Khan, had laid siege to Tala and Gossala; but on the report of his discomfiture, and the destruction of the Beejapoor army, he hastily retired. Sivajee, although he pretended to meditate an attack on him with his whole force, was engaged in an intrigue with the officer in charge of Panalla, from whom he had received overtures for surrendering that important place.† The terms having been agreed on, and

* Mahratta and Persian MSS., and English Records. The English Records, referred to during the seventeenth century, are principally in the East India House, London.

† The name of the person who gave up Panalla, is no where mentioned. One Beejapoor MS. states that Sivajee took it by stratagem; another, that a Hindoo in charge surrendered it, which so far corresponds with the Mahratta account. Panalla was one of those forts to which the king generally appointed the Killidar, but it was situated within the Jagheer of Roostum Zuman, one of the Beejapoor generals, whom we shall have oc-

their future operations determined, Sivajee could scarcely assure himself of its not being some stratagem contrived by the Beejapoor government, in order to draw him into their power. To guard against this, as well as to neglect nothing for securing a place of such importance, Sivajee sent forward Annajee Dutto, one of his most confidential Brámins, with a strong body of Mawulees, whilst he himself secretly drew together a large force, both of horse and foot, to act as the occasion might require.

Annajee Dutto was successful; both Panalla and Powangurh were surrendered, and Sivajee followed up this acquisition by surprising the fort of Wussuntgurh, levying contributions along the banks of the Kistna, and leaving a *Thanna* * or garrison with

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casion to mention in our progress. The Jagheer of Roostum Zuman, comprehended Merich and Kolapoor above the Ghauts, and Carwar and Rajapoor in the Concan. There is reason to suppose that Roostum Zuman was bribed by Sivajee at a very early period; the English merchants of the factories of Rajapoor and Carwar, repeatedly accuse him of being in league with Sivajee, and of sharing in the plunder of some towns in his own Jahgeer.

* *Thanna*, literally signifies a garrison, but it also means, more especially in Deccan history, the military post at which the inferior revenue officers are stationed to protect the country, aid the police, and collect the revenue; whether the station be a fort or an open village. The cultivators consider him their master, who is in possession of the thanna; for this reason, *garrison* does not convey the full meaning of thanna, and I have therefore been sometimes obliged to use it in preference to the English word.

a revenue collector, in the Gurhee * of Buttees Serala. On his arrival at Panalla, his first object was to send off troops to reduce the neighbouring forts both above and below the Syhadree range, which, in general, submitted without resistance; but Rangna and Kelneh were taken by assault, and the latter got the name of Vishalgurh, which it still retains.

Roostum Zuman, an officer of Beejapoor, stationed at Merich, was directed to march, when too late, for the protection of the Kolapoor district: he had only three thousand horse with a small body of infantry, with which he was permitted to advance to the neighbourhood of Panalla, when Sivajee, in person, attacked him with his cavalry, routed his party with great slaughter, and pursued him across the Kistna. † Thence, having written to Annajee Dutto to assemble all the spare infantry at Vishalgurh, Sivajee continued his route, plundered many of the villages as far as the neighbourhood of Beejapoor, levied contribu-

Dec.

* Gurhee means a small, or sometimes a weak fort, Buttees Serala is called a Gurhee, although it is a mud fort, extensive, but of no strength.

† Mahratta MSS. A letter from the English factory at Rajapoor states, that Roostum Zuman sent on a small party of his troops, under the son of Afzool Khan, and betrayed them into the hands of Sivajee; but the intelligence then obtained by the factors, all of which they wrote off just as it was received, cannot be relied on; indeed they frequently add, that reports are so contradictory, they know not what to believe. Their letters, however, are very important for fixing dates; and in corroborating facts, admitted by native authorities, they are invaluable.

tions from most of the market towns, spread terror over the whole country, and retired with such celerity as to evade even an attempt at pursuit.

A. D. 1660. Jan. On joining his troops, at Vishalgurh, he marched straight to Rajapoor on the coast, where he appeared a few hours after the news of his being in the neighbourhood of the capital had been received. He levied a contribution from Rajapoor, possessed himself of Dabul and its dependencies, acquired considerable booty, and safely conveyed it to Rajgurh.

The destruction of Afzool Khan and his army, the capture of Panalla, the defeat of Roostum Zuman, and above all, the appearance of Sivajee at the gates of the capital, created such an alarm at Beejapoor, that even faction amongst the nobles was in some measure allayed; but, as it was difficult to assign the precedency to any one in particular, it was suggested that the king in person should take the field against him. This proposition, however, was over-ruled, and a fit commander appeared in an Abyssinian officer, Seedee Johur, then commanding at Kurnoul, who had particularly distinguished himself on various services in the Carnatic.

Although he did not then rank among the nobility, his appointment excited less jealousy than if he had been one of either party; but he did not long escape their envy. His army was twice as large as that lately commanded by Afzool Khan; and Fazil Mohummud Khan, the son of Afzool Khan, who was anxious to avenge his father's murder, volunteered to accompany him. It was de-

termined to open the campaign by the siege of Panalla; but before the march of the troops, Seedee Johur was dignified with the title of Sulabut Khan.* Futih Khan, the Seedee, was prepared to attack Sivajee's possessions in the Concan, on the advance of Seedee Johur; and the Deshmookhs of Waree, whose fears prompted them to act vigorously, were directed to co-operate for the same purpose.

Sivajee, on the other hand, made arrangements for defending the Concan. Rugonath Punt was opposed to Futih Khan; Abajee Sonedeo protected the fort and districts of Kallian Bheemree; and Bajee Rao Phasalkur, the surnobut or commander-in-chief of the infantry, maintained the war against the Sawunts of Waree. In the upper country, Moro Punt was charged with the care of Poorundhur, Singurh, Pertabghur, and the adjoining country. Sivajee, esteeming Panalla a place of greater strength than it really was, imprudently resolved to defend it in person. He made no attempt to dispute the approach of the Beejapoor army; but as soon as they encamped in the neighbour-
May. hood of the fort, Netajee Palkur, with the horse, began to ravage the surrounding country, to cut off their supplies, to avoid encountering their cavalry, but to harass them by night attacks, in which he was supported by the garrison. Parties of Mawulees under cover of the ravines ap-

* I have retained his name of Seedee Johur; but in all Beejapoor writings, his name is henceforth changed to Sulabut Khan. The supposition of his being at all connected with the Seedees of Jinjeera is a mistake into which it would be very easy to account for Mr. Orme's having fallen.

proached the camp, sprung on the besiegers sword in hand, where they found them unprepared, or threw rockets when they were discovered.

In this manner they did great mischief, and with little loss on their part, killed numbers of the Beejapoor troops. Seedee Johur ordered that no quarter should be given to men who practised such warfare. He personally headed the attacks, drove in the whole of the out-posts, closely invested the place, and for several months, in the worst season of the year, persevered in vigorous efforts to reduce it.

The war was likewise actively prosecuted in the Concan. The Seedee, by means of his fleet, having made several successful descents on different parts of the coast, had gained some advantages over his opponent Rugonath Punt; and Bajee Rao Phasalkur, one of Sivajee's earliest followers, fought a a drawn battle with Kye Sawunt of Waree, in which both commanders were slain.

Sept. The siege of Panalla had lasted four months; the place was still tenable, but every avenue was vigilantly guarded, and Sivajee saw the fault he had committed in allowing himself to be shut up in a manner which effectually obstructed all communication, and prevented his either knowing or directing affairs in other parts of the country. To extricate himself from this dilemma, required address and boldness.

The besiegers were in high hopes, and exceedingly alert. Sivajee first endeavoured to throw them off their guard. He began his scheme by proposals for surrendering; negociations were commenced, and Sivajee, who well knew that he could trust See-

dee Johur *, on receiving his promise not to molest him, came down, slightly attended, to one of the batteries, where he was met by Seedee Johur, and soon made him believe that he intended to submit. All firing ceased, and every thing was adjusted, except a few trifling points artfully reserved by Sivajee till next morning; and in the meantime, as the evening closed, he was permitted to return to the fort, which the whole army, now lulled into security, considered as if in their possession.

But in the darkness of night, Sivajee, with a chosen band of Mawulees, descended the hill, passed the unsuspecting guards, and was on full march towards Rangna before his flight was suspected. When discovered, Fazil Mohummud Khan, and Seedee Uzeez, the son of Seedee Johur, pursued him with the cavalry, followed by infantry. They did not overtake him till the morning was far advanced, and he was entering a ghaut within six miles of Rangna. To cover his retreat, Sivajee stationed a party of Mawulees in the pass, and confided the command to his former enemy, Bajee Purvoe, Deshpandya of Hurdus Mawul, desiring him to maintain the post, until a signal of five guns announced the arrival of the main body at the fort. The Deshpandya was worthy of the honourable trust: the cavalry, in attempting to advance, were driven back; and on the arrival of the infantry, two successive assaults with fresh troops were gallantly repulsed. About noon a third party of infantry, headed by the son of Afzool Khan, ad-

* The Seedees, in general, have in the present day, a high character among the Mahrattas, for fidelity to their promise.

vanced in a most determined manner. Their attack was desperate, and the brave defenders, after the loss of half their numbers, amongst whom was the gallant Deshpandya, were at last obliged to retreat. But not without effecting their object. Bajee Purvoe heard the signal guns before he fell, and died expressing his satisfaction. The Mawulees proved their regard for him, as well as their own steadiness, by bearing off his body in the face of their numerous pursuers.

Fazil Khan advanced, and halted at Rangna: but Seedee Johur's plans were completely disconcerted. He hesitated whether to proceed to Rangna, or to continue the siege of Panalla. Ali Adil Shah, disappointed in his hopes, and impetuous in his disposition, was easily induced to believe that Seedee Johur had been bribed by Sivajee. The king accused him of this, and Seedee Johur equally disposed to anger, and now in a state of irritation, denied the charge, in terms which were construed into disrespect and disloyalty. Ali Adil Shah took the field in person, and marched to Kurar. All the district authorities in the neighbourhood, some of whom had submitted to Sivajee, attended in the royal camp for the purpose of tendering their adherence. Seedee Johur apologized to the king; but dreading the malice of the courtiers, excused himself from coming to camp, and withdrew towards Kurnoul, the place of his government and Jagheer.

Jan. 1661.

The king again invested Panalla, of which, as well as of Pawungurh, he obtained possession. The whole of the forts in the neighbourhood, taken

by Sivajee during the former year, excepting Rangna and Vishalgurh, likewise submitted. The setting in of the monsoon induced the king to withdraw from the neighbourhood of the Syhadree range, and encamp at Chimulgay on the banks of the Kistna.

Sivajee in the meantime, although he made no attempt to oppose the king's army, did not remain inactive. In the beginning of the year he again appeared before Rajapoor, which he took and plundered. On this occasion the English sustained some loss, and several of their factors were seized, and confined in a hill fort for two years, on an accusation, never substantiated, of having assisted Seedee Johur with mortars and shells, at the seige of Panalla. * On the reduction of Rajapoor, Sivajee attacked the possessions of the Mahratta Polygar Dulwey. Sringarpoor, his capital, was surprized and taken; but Dulwey continued to resist, until he was killed in an action where Sivajee in person commanded against him. Neither this conquest, nor that of Jowlee were viewed throughout the country with the same favor as his successes against the Mahomedans; and although the present advantage was not acquired by any attrocious deed, such as disgraced several of Sivajee's successes, yet some of the most respectable Hindoos of Sringarpoor, preferred emigrating to the territory of the Seedee, to residing under the government of the conqueror.

* Mahratta MSS. Beejapoor MSS., and English Records. The unfortunate Englishmen were not finally released without paying a ransom. There appears to have been some reason for Sivajee's suspicion, though the fact was never fully ascertained.

It required all Sivajee's address to persuade them to return, and he only effected it by gaining over a family named Soorway, the members of which had been principal managers under Dulwey. Sivajee, to obliterate this odium, and to make amends for his past conduct, assumed a greater regard for the forms enjoined by the Hindoo faith, to which he was probably induced, as much from superstition as from policy. Precluded by the situation of the celebrated temple of Dewee Bhowanee at Tooljapoor, from paying his devotions there, he, this year, during the rains, dedicated a temple to that deity, with great solemnity, in the fort of Pertabgurh. His religious observances, from this period, became exceedingly rigid: he chose the celebrated Ramdass Swamy as his Mahapooroosh, or spiritual guide, and aspired to a high character for sanctity.

But the devotions in which he was engaged did not impede the activity of his troops. During the rains, his whole strength was directed against Futih Khan; and although his operations were much obstructed by the weather, he drove back the troops of the Seedee, and had captured Dhunda Rajepoor before the season was sufficiently open to enable the Beejapoor government, or the Deshmookhs of Waree, to relieve the place. He opened batteries against Jinjeera; but a want of guns, and of men who could use them with effect, prevented his making any impression on the works; and he was soon called away to oppose an expected attack from Beejapoor. *

* Mahratta MSS.

During Ali Adil Shah's stay at Chimulgay, he sent several persons to Seedee Johur, assuring him of a favourable reception. He was at last prevailed upon to pay his respects at the royal camp, where he was received with every mark of civility and distinction; but as Ali Adil Shah was much under the influence of Ibrahim Khan, his personal enemy, Seedee Johur doubted the king's sincerity, and embraced the earliest opportunity of returning to his Jagheer. There were at this time, several petty rebellions in the northern part of the Carnatic, and as the king's first intention was to prosecute the war against Sivajee, Seedee Johur was commissioned to suppress them; but as he showed no readiness to comply, it was supposed he secretly aided the insurgents, and that he was even connected with Sivajee.

In consequence of this state of affairs, the king's advisers were divided in opinion, whether to direct their principal efforts to the prosecution of the war against Sivajee, or to re-establish order in the Carnatic. During their indecision, the Deshmookhs of Waree sent proposals for reducing Sivajee, provided they were properly supported. It was therefore determined that the king should march into the Carnatic, whilst Bahlole Khan and Bajee Ghorepuray of Moodhole, were directed to prepare an army to co-operate with the Sawunts against Sivajee. The king marched, and the troops destined for the latter service were assembling, when Bajee Ghorepuray, for some purpose of preparation, proceeded to his Jagheer. Sivajee, who had early intelligence of all that took place, and who had

returned to Vishalgurh, no sooner heard of Ghorepuray's being at Moodhole, entirely off his guard, than he chose this moment for anticipating the attack, and avenging his father's wrongs. He made a rapid march across the country, surprised and killed Ghorepuray with most of his relations and followers, plundered Moodhole, left it in flames, and returned to Vishalgurh with the greatest expedition.

Khowaus Khan was appointed to re-place Ghorepuray as second in command to Bahlole Khan; and the army had advanced as far as the passes into the Concan, when they were recalled to reinforce the army in the Carnatic.

A.D. 1662. The king found it necessary to reduce Raichore and Toorgul; both places made an obstinate resistance, and Ali Adil Shah evinced great personal bravery in the attacks.

Seedee Johur at first did not act decidedly as a rebel; but as he foresaw the danger of putting himself again in the power of a sovereign who suspected him, he at last determined openly to oppose the king. He chose an opportunity of attacking the troops of Joojhar Rao Ghatgay, and the Naik of Phultun, when they were separated from the rest of the king's camp by the Toongbuddra river. They were at first thrown into confusion, and fell back on the camp in great disorder; but on being reinforced by Bahlole Khan, and on recovering from their panic, they retrieved their discomfiture by following up and routing the troops that had attacked them. Seedee Johur maintained the war a very short time, owing to

the treachery of his followers, by whom he was put to death, in order to secure their own pardon. The king extended forgiveness to his son; and some time after, by the advice of his minister Abdool Mohummud, who succeeded Ibrahim Khan *, Seedee Uzeez, was received into favor. But the suppression of this rebellion did not re-establish order; the refractory were numerous, and the war was long protracted. After two whole years spent in different parts of the Carnatic, the campaign was ended by enforcing tribute from the Soonda Raja; and Ali Adil Shah returned to Beejapoor, having only partially accomplished his object. †

The employment of the whole force in the Carnatic, proved in many respects, of the utmost consequence to Sivajee. He had, on the whole, lost considerably by the campaign of the former season; but he soon recovered more than an equivalent. As soon as Bahlole Khan and Khowaus Khan were recalled, Sivajee attacked the Deshmookhs of Waree, who thus imprudently left to their fate, scarcely offered resistance: their territory was speedily occupied, and the Sawunts accompanied by Ram Dulwey, a near relation of the late Polygar of Sringarpoor, fled to Goa for protection, where they were at first received; but the Portu-

* Ibrahim Khan accompanied the king's mother to Mecca; the usual resort of displaced Mahomedan ministers, as Benares is of Bramins, under similar circumstances.

† Beejapoor MS. The campaign of Ali Adil Shah, in the Carnatic, is celebrated by Nusserut, in his Ali Namu, already mentioned.

guese, very different from those of their nation, who so greatly distinguished themselves a century before, were intimidated by the threats of Sivajee, and forced the fugitives to quit the place.

The Sawunts, abandoned by their government, and driven from Goa, threw themselves on the clemency of Sivajee, by whom their Deshmookhee rights were restored, and they afterwards became faithful servants. Ram Dulwey likewise joined Sivajee; and, although his relations were sometimes troublesome, Sivajee might reckon the resources of the southern part of the Concan, and the services of some good infantry and officers at his disposal.

Sivajee, however, kept his own garrisons in the territory of the Sawunts *, and drew their infantry to distant quarters. He likewise built Rairee, and Sindeedroog, or Malwan, and having seen the advantage which the Seedee derived from his fleet, he used great exertions to fit out a marine. He rebuilt or strengthened Kolabah; repaired Severndroog and Viziadroog†; and prepared vessels at all these places. His principal depôt was the harbour of Kolabah, twenty miles south of Bombay. He gave the command of his fleet to two persons, named Dureea Sagur, and Mynak Bundaree, and soon began to commit acts of piracy. The Portuguese, in order to prevent the ravages of the Mahratta fleet, sent an ambassador to Sivajee, who readily promised to refrain from molesting them, on condition of being supplied with some guns.

* The territory generally, is now called Sawunt-Waree.

† Or Gheriah.

and warlike stores, to which they consented; and the demand, as might have been expected, was very frequently renewed.*

After the Sawunts were reduced, the minister of Ali Adil Shah, Abdool Mohummud, entered into a secret compact with Sivajee.† The particulars of this agreement, or the means by which it was brought about, are totally unknown; but it is not improbable that it may have been effected through the intervention of Shahjee. It is certain, that about this period, Shahjee, who had been delighted with the exploit of his son against the treacherous Ghorepuray, came from the Carnatic, accompanied by his other son, Venkajee, and visited Sivajee, with the consent and approbation of his own government. Sivajee treated his father with the greatest distinction, and on hearing of his approach, according to Mahratta notions of profound respect, went several miles to meet him, dismounted from his horse, and saluted him with the obeisance due by a servant to his sovereign; insisted on walking by the side of his father's palanquin, and would not sit in his presence until repeatedly commanded. After some weeks spent in conviviality, and visiting various parts of Sivajee's territory, Shahjee, highly gratified, returned to Beejapoor, the bearer of presents from Sivajee to the king‡; and what strengthens the supposition of Shahjee's having been the mediator, hostilities from that time were suspended between Sivajee and Beejapoor during

* Mahratta MSS.
† Beejapoor MS.
‡ Mahratta MS.

the life of Shahjee; nor, when they were renewed, was Sivajee the aggressor.

It is an opinion of some of the Mahrattas, that it was by Shahjee's advice that Sivajee changed his principal residence, from Rajgurh to Rairee. It is certain, that he, at this time, changed the name of the latter to Raigurh; and Abajee Sonedeo was instructed to commence erecting a complete set of public buildings within the fort, with accommodation for the different officers and departments of his immediate government; a work which was not completed for several years: considerable labour was also, for some time, used in strengthening the natural defences of the mountain, for the purpose of rendering it impregnable.

Sivajee now possessed the whole of the continent of the Concan, from Kallian to Goa, a length of coast about four degrees of latitude; and the Concan Ghaut Mahta, from the Beema to the Warna, a distance of about 160 English miles. His territory, at its greatest breadth, or between Sopa and Jinjeera, did not exceed one hundred English miles. He had an army proportionally much larger than the size of his territory; but, when we consider the predatory means he took for supporting it, the number, when stated at fifty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, is, probably, not exaggerated. His power was formidable, and the truce with Beejapoor gave him an opportunity of directing it against the Moghuls.

CHAP. VI.

FROM A. D. 1662. TO A. D. 1667.

Sivajee attacks the Moghul possessions. — Shaisteh Khan is sent against him, — occupies Poona, besieges and takes Chakun. — Raja Jeswunt Sing, of Joudpoor, sent to reinforce Shaisteh Khan. — Netajee Palkur is surprised and wounded, but escapes. — Sivajee performs an adventurous exploit. — Shaisteh Khan is recalled. — Sultan Mauzum is appointed to the Deccan, with Jeswunt Sing, as second in command. — Sivajee plunders Surat. — Death of Shahjee. — Sivajee assumes the title of Raja, and strikes coins in his own name, — his fleet makes prize of some Moghul ships bound to the Red Sea, and plunders the pilgrims proceeding to Mecca; — plunders Ahmednugur; — makes a descent on the coast, and plunders Barcelore. — Raja Jey Sing, and Dilere Khan come against him unexpectedly. — Aurungzebe's views and policy in regard to the Deccan. — Progress of Jey Sing. — Sivajee in alarm and perplexity. — Siege and defence of Poorundhur. — Sivajee's submission. — Remarkable convention of Poorundhur. — War with Beejapoor. — Sivajee and Venkajee opposed to each other. — Sivajee repairs to Delhi, — is placed in confinement by Aurungzebe, — effects his escape, and returns to the Deccan. — Jey Sing's progress, — is obliged to raise the siege of Beejapoor, and retreat, — is superseded by Sultan Mauzum, and dies on his return towards Delhi.

A. D. 1662. SINCE the departure of Aurungzebe, Sivajee had been so much occupied in the war with Beejapoor, that he was not only unable to take advantage of the events passing in Hindoostan, but in May, 1661, when the Moghuls possessed themselves of Kallian Bheemree, Sivajee was not in a condition to resent the aggression. He now, however, prepared a large force; the infantry under

Moro Punt, and the horse headed by Netajee Palkur. The former, during the rains, possessed himself of several strong holds, north of Joonere, but there is no satisfactory account of the particulars. Netajee Palkur, as soon as the state of the roads permitted, ravaged the Moghul districts without mercy; he was ordered to plunder the villages, and levy contributions from the towns; but he even exceeded these orders, swept the country to the environs of Aurungabad, spread terror in all directions, and, by moving rapidly from one direction to another, returned safe and unopposed to Poona.

Shaisteh Khan*, who, with the title of Umeer-Ool Oomrah, had been appointed to succeed the prince, Sultan Mauzum, as viceroy of the Deccan, was ordered by the emperor, to punish this daring incursion, to carry the war into Sivajee's territory, and to reduce his forts.

Shaisteh Khan accordingly marched from Aurungabad, with a great force, and pursuing the high road by Ahmednugur and Pairgaom, turned from the latter place westward towards Poona. On his route, he sent a detachment to take possession of Sopa, and pitched on Jadow Rao, Deshmookh of Sindkheir, Sivajee's relation, to occupy the districts.† Sivajee, on the approach of the Moghul

* Maternal uncle of Aurungzebe, and nephew of the celebrated Noor Mahal, whose name is probably more generally known at present from Mr. Moore's Lalla Rookh, than from the history of India. The fact of our being indebted to Noor Jehan's mother for the discovery of utter of roses, is gravely recorded by the historian Khafee Khan.

† Khafee Khan.

army, left Rajgurh, and made Singurh his principal residence. Shaisteh Khan took Poona, and sent out strong detachments to occupy the Katruje Ghaut, and the village of Sewapoor. Parties were also detached to reconnoitre the forts; and as Chakun lay between him and Joonere, which was inconvenient, and as he expected that so small a place would surrender on the first summons, he moved against it with the main body of his army; but Phirungajee Nursalla, who had remained in command of Chakun since the year 1646, refused to surrender, and made an excellent defence. Chakun held out against the Moghul army for nearly two months. At last, on the fifty-sixth day of the siege, a mine having been sprung under the north-east bastion, a very large practicable breach was made, and many of the garrison were killed by the explosion. The Moghuls being prepared for the assault rushed forward, but were met by the remains of the garrison, headed by their gallant Havildar in the breach, which was so well defended, that the assailants could make no impression. The besieged maintained their post till night-fall, when the attack ceased; and in the morning, Phirungajee Nursalla capitulated. Shaisteh Khan, in admiration of his conduct, treated him with great respect, and made him considerable offers if he would enter the imperial service, but Nursalla did not disgrace the fame he had acquired by accepting them; Shaisteh Khan dismissed him with honour, and he rejoined Sivajee, by whom he was commended and rewarded.

The Moghuls, by their own account, lost nine

hundred in killed and wounded, before Chakun, which, considering the length and obstinate nature of the defence, does not appear a great number; but Shaisteh Khan became impressed with an idea of the insurmountable difficulty of reducing the hill forts. Aurungzebe, on the contrary, considered their reduction a matter of easy accomplishment; and long after this period, continued to entertain the greatest contempt for the Mahrattas, as enemies. Raja Jeswunt Sing, the Rajpoot prince of Joudpoor was, however, ordered to join the Khan with a large reinforcement. The fair season was far advanced before his arrival, and the whole army lay inactive in the neighbourhood of Poona, whilst Netajee Palkur again appeared about Ahmednugur and Aurungabad, burning and plundering the districts. *

A.D. 1663.

A party was immediately detached to intercept him, and on this occasion succeeded in surprising and killing several of his men. They afterwards continued the pursuit, Netajee was himself wounded, and it was supposed he would have been taken, had not the Beejapoor general, Roostum Zuman favored his escape.†

Shaisteh Khan, in the mean time, had taken up his abode in the town of Poona, and had fixed his residence in the house built by Dadajee Konedeo.‡ From Sivajee's being in the neighbourhood, of whose character for stratagem he was well aware, the Khan took many of those precautions which

* Mahratta MSS., Khafee Khan.

† Mahratta MSS., and English Records.

‡ Mahratta MSS.

frequently invite what they are intended to prevent. No armed Mahratta was permitted to enter Poona without a passport, and no Mahratta horsemen were entertained excepting under such chiefs* of their own, as held their lands from the emperor.

Sivajee, watchful of all that passed, resolved to surprise the Khan, and sent two Bramins to make such arrangements as were necessary to gain admission. When his preparations were complete, Sivajee left Singurh one evening in the month of April†, a little after sun set, at the head of a considerable body of infantry whom he posted in small parties along the road, but Yessjee Kunk, Tannajee Moloosray, and twenty-five Mawulees were all that entered.‡ His emissaries § had gained a Mahratta foot-soldier in the Khan's service, who, on pretence of celebrating a marriage, obtained permission to beat through the town with the noisy instruments used on such occasions, and also for some of his companions, who always carry their arms, to join in the procession. Poona being an open town, Sivajee with his party, favored by the contrivance of his emissaries, easily slipped undiscovered into the crowd, and joined in the moving assemblage.

When all was quiet, Sivajee and his companions,

* Khafee Khan.

† Mahratta MSS., and letter from the English factors, then prisoners at large in Rajapoor, dated 12th April, 1663.

‡ Mahratta MSS.

§ The means his emissaries took to obtain him admission, is omitted in the Mahratta MSS., but Khafee Khan's account bears every mark of probability. It is also confirmed by Catrou.

familiar with every avenue and every accessible part of the Khan's residence, proceeded with a few pick-axes to the cook-room, above which there was a window slightly built up. Through this place they soon made themselves a passage, but not without alarming some of the women of the Khan's family, who immediately ran and awoke their master. Shaisteh Khan was hurrying out, and in the act of lowering himself from a window, when he received a blow on the hand which cut off one of his fingers. He was fortunate in escaping without further injury, as his son Abool Futih Khan and most of the guard at his house were killed.

Sivajee and his men retired before it was possible to intercept them, and gradually collected their parties on their route to Singurh. When they got to the distance of three or four miles, they lighted torches, previously prepared, to occasion deception as to their numbers, and to express their defiance and derision. In this manner they ascended to the fort in view of the Moghul camp, from which they might be distinctly seen.

No action of Sivajee's, is now talked of with greater exultation among his countrymen, than this exploit ; — to complete the triumph, a body of Moghuls came galloping towards Singurh next morning, and were permitted to approach close to the fort, which they did in a vaunting manner, beating their kettle drums, and brandishing their swords ; when the guns opening upon them, they retired in the greatest confusion. Kartojee Goozur, who commanded a party of Sivajee's horse, left in

the neighbourhood by Netajee Palkur, took this opportunity of falling upon them, which he did so unexpectedly as to complete their flight and disgrace. * This is the first time we find the Moghul cavalry pursued by the Mahrattas. Kartojee Goozur, encouraged by his success, cut off several small parties, and obliged the Moghuls to strengthen their out-posts.

Trifling reverses contributed to dishearten Shaisteh Khan in his present state of grief and mortification. Instead of acting with the spirit that became an officer, he accused Jeswunt Sing of neglect, complained of the state of his army, and wrote to the emperor stating suspicions of Jeswunt Sing's having been bribed by Sivajee. Aurungzebe was preparing for a journey to Kashmeer when news of the Khan's disaster, and the want of union between him and Jeswunt Sing, reached Delhi. He at first recalled both the principal officers, and appointed Sultan Mauzum viceroy of the Deccan; but he afterwards conferred the government of Bengal on Shaisteh Khan, and directed Jeswunt Sing to remain as second in command under the prince.

Jeswunt Sing made a feeble attempt to invest Singurh, but he did not prosecute the siege. Strong detachments were left at Chakun †, and

* Mahratta MSS.

† It was about this time, when the army had retired, that Sivajee, having gone to hear a Kutha by Tookaram, in the town of Poona, narrowly escaped being made prisoner by the garrison of Chakun. The Mahratta MSS. particularly mention the miraculous interference of the god Pandoorang, by whom he was saved.

Joonere, whilst the main body of the army retired to Aurungabad.

Sivajee, who always spread false reports of his intentions, assembled an army in the neighbourhood of Kallian, and another near Dhunda Rajepoor, gave out that he meant to attack the Portuguese at Bassein and Choule, or make a grand effort to reduce the Seedee. But his real design was on Surat, at that time one of the richest cities in India, and Byherjee Naik, a famous spy in his service, was already on the spot making such preparatory observations as were necessary. On pretence of paying his respects at a temple near Nassuck, and of visiting the forts lately taken by Moro Trimmul, Sivajee proceeded to the northward, but when supposed to be engaged in devotions, he made a rapid march with four thousand horse towards Surat, which he surprised, and having systematically plundered it for six days of great riches, he leisurely conveyed his booty unmolested to Raigurh, which being now completed, became the future seat of his government. The plunder of Surat was great, and it would have been more considerable had the English and Dutch factories fallen into his power, but they stood on the defensive, and the English in particular, behaved so manfully, that they not only saved their own property, but a part of that of the citizens: Sir George Oxenden was then chief or governor at Surat. *

A. D. 1664. Jan. 5.

On Sivajee's return he heard of the death of his

* The sack of Surat, on this occasion, is most minutely described in the Records of the English factory, now in the East India house. In consequence of their generous defence of

father, which happened by an accidental fall from his horse, when hunting *, in January, 1664, at the village of Buswuputtum, on the banks of Toongbuddra, near Bednore, where he had joined the Beejapoor army to assist in reducing some refractory Zumeendars.

Shahjee possessed at his death, not only the districts originally conferred upon him in Jagheer, by the Beejapoor government, but the fort of Arnee, Porto Novo †, and the territory of Tanjore. ‡ He continued in obedience to Ali Adil Shah, who

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the property of others, Aurungzebe granted to the English a perpetual exemption from a portion of the customs exacted from the traders of other nations at Surat. During the time the Mahrattas were plundering the town, Sivajee remained outside. A person named Smith, an Englishman, was taken prisoner and carried before Sivajee, whom he represented as seated in a tent, ordering heads and hands to be chopped off, in cases where persons were supposed to be concealing their wealth.

The walls of Surat, up to this period, were of mud. They were now ordered to be built of brick. Thevenot, who was at Surat in the early part of 1666, mentions that they were then in progress.

* Some Mahrattas, very old men, join in all sorts of hunting, the present Jan Rao Naik Nimbalkur, must be nearly as old as Shahjee was, and is still a keen sportsman.

† The English records mention the capture of Porto Novo, by Shahjee, in July 1661.

‡ All the Mahratta MSS. state the conquest to have been made by Shahjee. No Mahrattas or Bramins, conversant with their own history, seem to think otherwise; the doubt seems to have arisen in the neighbourhood of Tanjore, and it was natural to have done so, owing to the apprehension which the Tanjore Raja must have entertained, of being called to account for half his revenue; proofs, however, of what is stated, will ultimately appear.

seems to have allowed him to retain his new acquisitions unquestioned.

Some days were spent by Sivajee in the observance of the usual obsequies which he performed at Singurh, where he remained for some time, and afterwards came to Raigurh. He spent some months revising and arranging the departments and affairs of his government, assisted by his principal officers; and on this occasion, first assumed the title of Raja, and struck coins in his own name.

Netajee Palkur regularly returned at the commencement of the rains, and was almost invariably successful. Sivajee's fleet had also succeeded in making considerable captures. Amongst others, they took some Moghul ships bound to Mocha, and exacted ransoms from all the rich pilgrims proceeding to the shrine of their prophet. In the month of August, Sivajee, in person, surprized and plundered the Pettah of Ahmednugur, and carried his depredations to the vicinity of Aurungabad. During his absence, the Beejapoor army, stationed at Panalla, under the command of two generals, broke the truce, made a vigorous effort for the recovery of the Concan, and had retaken several places; when Sivajee, who, as the English records of the period observe, seemed to be every where and prepared for every emergency, appeared
Oct. in the field at the head of a large force, with which he gave them battle, and defeated them with great slaughter.* Vingorla, the inhabitants of which seem to have risen on his garrison, Sivajee burnt to the ground, and hastened

* The English factors at Carwar and Rajapoor mention that 6000 of the Bejapoor troops were killed.

back to Singurh to watch the motions of the Moghuls, from whom he apprehended an attack, as they had sent a strong reinforcement to a camp formed at Joonere. But having discovered that they did not intend to act on the offensive, he sent off a part of his horse to plunder in the Beejapoor territory, south of the Kistna, and immediately devised a new enterprize. Preparatory to its execution, he caused it to be believed that he had a design of surprising the Moghul camp. Whilst this report was current, he secretly drew together a large fleet *, suddenly set off for the coast, embarked from Malwan, made a descent on the rich town of Barcelore, about 130 miles below Goa, and sailed back as far as Gocurn with four thousand men, before it was fully ascertained that he had quitted his capital. There, having dismissed the greater part of his fleet, he paid his devotions at a temple in the neighbourhood, and afterwards, having divided his troops into parties, scoured the whole country, and acquired immense booty from several of the rich mercantile towns in that neighbourhood; Carwar stood on the defensive, and Sivajee had only time to exact a contribution †; after which, having dispatched his troops by land, he hastily re-embarked on his return to Raigurh. ‡

A. D. 1665.

Feb.

* According to a letter from the Carwar factory, this fleet consisted of eighty-five frigates, and three great ships. By the frigates are probably meant, the small vessels with one mast, from 30 to 150 tons burthen, common on the Malabar coast; and by the great ships, three masted vessels.

† The English factory paid 112*l.* sterling of this contribution.

‡ Mahratta MSS. and English Records. The former mention that Sivajee, on this expedition, acquired vast plunder at

On this voyage Sivajee was detained longer than he expected, a strong gale drove him down the coast, and the north-west winds prevented his return for many days. This delay was one of several circumstances by which his tutelary goddess is said to have shown her displeasure at this expedition; the only naval enterprize, on which he, in person, embarked.

But a more serious cause of uneasiness, than the inconveniences of adverse winds and sea-sickness, awaited the return of Sivajee; which was no less, than the approach of a very formidable army under two officers of note, Mirza Raja Jey Sing, a Rajpoot prince, and Dilere Khan, an Afghan.

On first view it appears extraordinary that Aurungzebe, after what had occurred, did not prosecute the war against Sivajee with greater vigour; but his own insecurity, the apprehensions of a usurper, especially during his father's life, and the natural distrust of a jealous disposition, sufficiently account for the delay, independent of discussions with the court of Persia, his ultimate views of subjugating the whole Deccan at once, and the contempt he entertained for "the mountain rat," as it is said *, he affected to style Sivajee.

The assumption of the title of Raja, the privilege of coining, the numerous aggressions committed, or even the plunder of Surat, did not call forth the

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Hussnoor, the latter say at Barcelore. The Mahrattas say that Hussnoor, (with the situation of which I am unacquainted,) is a town in Bardez, in the Goa territory.

* Fryer.

resentment of Aurungzebe so forcibly, as robbing the holy pilgrims proceeding to Mecca; and the religious zeal which he professed, demanded an exertion of his power, to punish the author of outrages, as sacrilegious to his faith, as insulting to his empire.

Mirza Raja Jey Sing, and Dilere Khan, had both, in the first instance, declared for the cause of Dara, but were subsequently won over by Aurungzebe, to whom they performed essential services. The emperor never placed entire confidence in Jey Sing, and he was suspicious of Dilere Khan owing to his former conduct, to the bold daring character of the man, and to his great influence with his countrymen, of whom there were a great number in the imperial service. On the distant employment to which they were about to proceed, among a people and in a country familiar to Aurungzebe, but where they were strangers, their services and that of their adherents could be safely used in reducing Sivajee, and exacting arrears of tribute from Beejapoor. As that government became more and more indigent, this demand was always an excuse for hostilities. In the present instance, it afforded convenient occupation for two men whom Aurungzebe doubted, and weakened a kingdom intended to be annexed to the empire. Aurungzebe, although he must have been aware that Jey Sing's means were inadequate, gave him a commission to conquer Beejapoor, after Sivajee should be subdued. He had not sufficient confidence in any one to trust him with a sufficient force, and his policy, from the time he became emperor, seems to have been, to

shake the Deccan states so effectually, that he could overturn them when it suited his purpose.

When this army marched, Ram Sing, the son of Raja Jey Sing, was directed to reside at the emperor's court, on pretence of doing his father honor, but in reality as a hostage for his conduct. It was so contrived that Jey Sing's approach was not known to Sivajee, when he embarked on his maritime expedition. The force crossed the Nerbuddah about the month of February. Jeswunt Sing and Sultan Mauzum were recalled, but Jey Sing took an opportunity of paying his respects to the prince at Aurungabad, and then marched on to Poona. He arrived there early in April, and no time was lost in commencing operations. He invested Poorundhur; and leaving Dilere Khan to prosecute the siege, he himself blockaded Singurh, and pushed on his advanced parties as far as Rajghur.

Sivajee had just returned from the coast, on Jey Sing's arrival, and hastened to Raigurh, where he, for the first time, called a consultation of all his principal people. Netajee Palkur, though it was a part of his duty to watch the motions of the enemy, was at a great distance with the main body of the cavalry, and Sivajee, although he probably then found it impolitic to displace him, never forgave the neglect *. Kartojee Goozur had further opportunities of proving his activity; but it was rather in eluding pursuit than in any particular success; he

* Catrou from Manouchi's MS. says Netajee was bribed by Jey Sing, which, although not mentioned in the Mahratta MSS., is more than probable.

however cut off several parties of foragers, and brought in constant intelligence.

The great reputation of Raja Jey Sing *, the strength of his army, and the unexpected vigour of his attack, combined to create an unusual alarm and perplexity in Sivajee, which were perceptible in the consultations at Raigurh, and spread themselves amongst his chief officers. This indecision, according to the opinion of his countrymen, anxious to deify him, was in consequence of a communication from the goddess Bhowanee, by whom Sivajee was warned in a dream, that he could not prevail against this Hindoo prince, and as Sivajee was not, as far as can be ascertained, materially reduced in any way, it is probable, that superstition was one of the principal causes which influenced his conduct at this crisis.

But the irresolution of the council at Raigurh did not affect the spirit of the garrison at Poorundhur. Bajee Purvoe †, a Deshpandya of Mhar, was Havildar of the fort, which was strongly garrisoned by Mawulees and Hetkurees. The Deshpandya maintained his post with bravery and ability. He disputed every point of the approaches, but his outposts being driven in, Dilere Khan commenced mining a rock under one of the towers of the lower fort. The garrison made frequent sallies, and repeatedly drove off the miners, but they were at last

* He was styled from the name of his capital, Rajah of Ambhere, now better known by that of Jeypoor or Jeynugur. He was probably grandfather to the celebrated astronomer Jey Sing, who succeeded to the principality in 1693.

† He was no relation of the gallant Purvoe, of the same name, who covered Sivajee's retreat from Panalla.

firmly lodged under cover. After repeated failures, they succeeded in shattering the rock and defences, so as to enable them to attempt an assault *. They had gained the lower fort, but whilst the garrison was retiring to the upper, the assailants, careless or insensible of the danger to which they exposed themselves, dispersed to plunder the houses; when the Hetkuree marksmen, from above, opened a fire so destructive, that many of the assailants sought shelter in every corner, and others ran outside to get under cover of the rock. At this moment the Mawulees, headed by their commander, sallied out, attacked the Moghuls sword in hand, killed all that opposed them, and drove them down the hill in view of Dilere Khan, who was seated on his elephant, near the bottom, observing the progress of the assault. Seeing the flight of his men he bent his bow, called to a body of Patans about him to advance, and rallying the fugitives, pushed forward his elephant; but the garrison, like all Mahrattas, daring in success, closed with his men, and even the hardy Afghans began to recoil from the swords of the Mawulees; when Dilere Khan, having marked the conspicuous conduct of their leader, with his own hand, pierced him with an arrow and killed him on the spot. The whole of the garrison accom-

* The highest point of the mountain of Poorundhur is upwards of seventeen hundred feet from the plain immediately below; there are two forts, an upper and lower, situated from three to four hundred feet below the summit; the works, like most of the hill-forts in that part of the country, are of perpendicular rock, and frequently weakened, rather than strengthened, by curtains and bastions of masonry, by which the natural defences are generally surmounted.

panying him instantly fled, nor stopped until they reached the upper fort. The Moghuls again took possession of the lower fort, but the fire from above obliged them to relinquish it. After this failure, Dilere Khan, considering the northern face impregnable, determined on attempting to escalade Wujrgurh *, a small detached fort, situated on the north-east angle of Poorundhur, which commands a great part of its works. The attempt succeeded, and guns were brought up to breach the upper fort, but the rains had set in and greatly retarded operations. The Moghul artillery was extremely bad, and although they continued firing for weeks, little impression was made on the defences. The garrison, however, became dispirited, and sent notice that they could hold out no longer. They would have evacuated the fort, but Sivajee particularly desired them to maintain the defence until he should send them an intimation to retire.

Sivajee from the first had commenced negotiating and sending messages to Jey Sing, from whom he received assurances of favour; but the latter, who understood the character of his adversary, did not relax in his efforts or preparations, and Sivajee now seriously reverted to his early plan of entering the Moghul service, and relinquishing a part of his acquisitions.

With this view he sent Rugonath Punt, Nya-Shastree, to Jey Sing, who listened, answered, and agreed to some of Sivajee's proposals; but he put no trust in his sincerity, until the Bramin, (Rugonath Punt,) convinced him that Sivajee did not

* Or Rooder Mahal, according to the Mahrattas.

intend deception. Jey Sing then desired him to assure Sivajee, on the honour of a Rajpoot, that he might rely, not only on pardon, but on favour and protection from the emperor. Whilst this negociation was pending, Sivajee moved from Raigurh to Pertabgurh, and afterwards to Jowlee; for what purpose is unknown, but probably in order to conceal his real design from his own troops. With a slender retinue, Sivajee, in the month of July, crossed the mountains, proceeded straight to Jey Sing's camp, where he announced himself as Sivajee Raja. Jey Sing sent a person to conduct him to his presence, and on his approach, advanced from his tent, met, and embraced him. He seated him on his right hand, treated him with great respect and kindness, and repeated the assurances sent by Rugonath Punt. After some conversation, in the humblest strain on the part of Sivajee, he was permitted to retire to tents adjoining those of Jey Sing. Next day Sivajee went to visit Dilere Khan, who was still before Poorundhur, and now exceedingly mortified at his not being made privy to the negotiation. He threatened to persevere in reducing Poorundhur, and putting every man to the sword; this, however, was but a threat, and he was soothed and gratified by Sivajee's presenting the keys of the gate with his own hand, and telling him that all his forts and country were his, that he merely sought pardon, that experience had convinced him of the folly of resisting such soldiers as Aurungzebe could boast of, and that he now

July.

only hoped to be enrolled among the servants of the empire.

An armistice immediately took place, as soon as Sivajee came into camp, and after several conferences, the following were the terms of agreement entered into, subject to the approval of the emperor; but the whole, under the guarantee of Jey Sing, without which, Sivajee would not have trusted his person in a Moghul army: — As a preliminary article, Sivajee relinquished whatever forts or territory he had taken from the Moghuls. Of thirty-two forts taken or built by him, in the territory which had belonged to the Nizam Shahee government, he gave up twenty to Jey Sing, amongst which were Poorundhur and Singurh. The whole of the districts dependent on these forts were ceded at the same time.

The territory belonging to the remaining twelve forts*, estimated at one lack of pagodas of annual revenue, and all the rest of his acquisitions were to form his Jagheer, dependent on the emperor. His son Sumbhajee, then in his eighth year, was to receive a munsub of five thousand horse; but the most remarkable part of this agreement was Sivajee's proposal, of being allowed certain assignments on Beejapoor, probably, in lieu of his pretended hereditary claims in the Nizam Shahee territory, and as some recompence for what he had ceded to the emperor.

* The twelve remaining forts were, 1. Rajgurh, 2. Torna, 3. Rairee, (Raigurh,) 4. Linganah, 5. Mhargurh, 6. Ballagurh, 7. Gossala, 8. Eeswaree, 9. Palee, 10. Bhoorup, 11. Koaree, and 12. Oodedroog.

These assignments were estimated at five lacks of pagodas, being a fourth and a tenth of the revenue, termed by him the *Chouth* and *Surdeshmookhee*, of certain districts above the Ghauts; the charge of collecting which he took upon himself. So eager was Sivajee to obtain the Imperial authority for this arrangement, that he offered, on condition of its being granted, to pay a peshkush of forty lacks of pagodas by instalments of three lacks annually, and to maintain an additional body of troops.*

Aurungzebe, in a long letter to Sivajee, distinctly confirms the substance of what is recorded by the Mahrattas to have taken place at the convention of Poorundhur, enumerates the twelve forts, and promises a munsub of five thousand horse to Sivajee's son. Aurungzebe's letter does not specify Chouth and Surdeshmookhee; indeed, it is probable he did not comprehend their meaning or insidious tendency, but as he also had sinister views, in his plan of undermining the government of Beejapoor, he agrees to Sivajee's proposal, on condition of his accompanying Raja Jey Sing, with his troops, exerting himself in the conquest of that state, and paying the first instalment of the promised Peshkush.†

According to his agreement, Sivajee, with a body of two thousand horse, and eight thousand

* This proposal on the part of Sivajee, was sent to the emperor, according to custom, in the form of a petition; and at the suggestion of Jey Sing, Sivajee intimated his intention of visiting the emperor, by stating in the most courtly strain, his desire to kiss the royal threshold.

† Original letter.

infantry*, co-operated with Jey Sing. The combined army marched about the month of November, and their first operations were directed against Bujajee Naik Nimbalkur, the relation of Sivajee, and a Jagheerdar of Beejapoor. Phultun was reduced, and the fort of Tattora escaladed by Sivajee's Mawulees. All the fortified places were taken possession of in their route.

Ali Adil Shah had prepared his troops, but endeavoured to prevent the invasion by promises of settling the demands of the Moghuls; Jey Sing however, continued his advance, and met with little opposition until near Mungulwehra, where the Beejapoor horse first made their appearance, and acted with great activity and vigour. Abdool Mohummud, the prime minister, was the chief commander of the Beejapoor troops; the principal officers were Abdool Khureem Bahlole Khan, Khowaus Khan, Seedee Uzeez, son of Seedee Johur, and Venkajee Raja Bhonslay, the half brother of Sivajee.

The Mahratta horse in the service of Beejapoor, fought with uncommon spirit on this service. Venkajee Raja, and Ruttajee Manay, Deshmook of Muswar, were the most conspicuous.†

On the side of the Moghuls, Sivajee and Netajee Palkur distinguished themselves, particularly on an occasion where they had the rear guard.‡

* Khafee Khan.

† Beejapoor MSS. confirmed by grants of land to Ruttajee Manay in consequence: The deeds are in possession of the family at Muswar.

‡ Khafee Khan.

They were also detached against several places of strength, which were reduced by Sivajee's infantry. Aurungzebe, in consequence of these services, wrote Sivajee a letter, extolling his conduct, and sent him an honorary present as a mark of his regard*; in a subsequent letter he invited him to court, promised to confer on him great rank and honours, and to permit him to return to the Deccan.† Intercourse had established mutual confidence between Sivajee and Jey Sing; by the advice, and on the assurance of the latter, Sivajee resolved to visit Delhi, and despatched Rugonath Punt for the ostensible purpose of announcing his approach, but principally to gain some intelligence respecting characters and affairs at the imperial court.‡ Sivajee ordered all his principal officers to meet him at Raigurh; but whilst they were assembling, he visited the whole of his forts, gave the strictest injunctions to each of the officers in charge, and returned to the meeting at the capital.

A. D. 1666. He there invested Moro Trimmul Pingley, Abajee Sonedeo, and Annajee Dutto, with full authority during his absence, and enjoined all persons to respect and obey their orders as if issued by himself. The territory was now greatly circumscribed: in the Concan, it extended from Choule to the neighbourhood of Ponda, and in the Ghaut Mahta, from the Neera river to Rangna.

Sivajee, accompanied by his eldest son, Sum-

* Original letter. † Original letter.

‡ The account of the proceedings for 1665, is partly from Khafee Khan, but principally on the authority of Mahratta MSS.

bhajee, set out for Delhi in the beginning of March, 1666, attended by five hundred choice horse, and one thousand Mawulees. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Delhi, Ram Sing, the son of Raja Jey Sing, and another officer of inferior rank, were the only persons sent by Aurungzebe to meet him.

This marked slight did not pass unobserved; but Sivajee forbore noticing it, till on being admitted to an audience, and condescending to present a Nuzur*, the place assigned to him was only amongst those who held the rank of five thousand. He could no longer suppress resentment at this indignity, and he expressed, in the hearing of those near him, who repeated his words to the emperor, the indignation he felt at such treatment. In consequence of this language, when the audience was ended, and Sivajee had retired to the dwelling assigned to him, it was intimated, that the emperor, for the future, declined seeing him at court. Sivajee was justly alarmed at this communication, and after some delay, in order to ascertain the real intentions of Aurungzebe, he sent Rugonath Punt with a petition, setting forth the reasons which had induced him to visit Delhi, the promises and invitation of the emperor, the services he had ren-

* Nuzur signifies a present; an offering made by an inferior to a superior in token of fealty, submission, congratulation, &c. There are a vast number of ceremonies and observances attendant both on the mode of presenting and of receiving nuzurs. Under the name of an offering, it is frequently a heavy exaction, imposed on appointment to office, or succession to rank and property.

dered, the conditions to which Aurungzebe had subscribed, the readiness of Sivajee to fulfil his part of the agreement, and his assurance of affording every assistance to the imperial troops in reducing the Edil Shahee, or Kootub Shahee states. If, however, the emperor did not choose to avail himself of his services, he only asked permission to return to his Jagheer, as the air and water of Hindoostan were prejudicial to his own health, as well as to that of the other natives of the Deccan by whom he was accompanied. Aurungzebe's answer was evasive, and he shortly after directed the Kotwal of the city to place a guard over Sivajee's house, to watch his person carefully, and never to allow him to quit his residence without a party responsible for his safe custody. Sivajee remonstrated and complained, particularly of the hardship of detaining his people. Aurungzebe readily granted passports for their return to the Deccan, and now, probably, considered Sivajee completely in his power. But it is the characteristic of cunning to overreach itself; and in the safe conduct afforded to his friends, Sivajee exulted in the greater facility it afforded of effecting his own escape. Ram Sing was privy to his design, and on account of the pledge given by his father, connived at it.* The confinement of Sivajee was not so rigid as to prevent his paying visits. He frequently went to different nobles of the court, sent them presents, and endeavoured to interest them in his favour. In this manner an intimacy sufficient for Sivajee's purpose having taken place, he feigned sickness, sent

* This is distinctly asserted in the Chitnees's MS.

for physicians, took medicines, and was soon reported very ill. Pretending to have partially recovered, he gave great charities to Bramins, and presents to physicians. He made up several long baskets which were daily sent from his apartments filled with sweetmeats, to the houses of different great men his acquaintances, or to be distributed amongst Fuqeers at mosques. When the practice had continued for some time, he one evening put Sumbhajee into one basket, got into another himself, and was thus conveyed by his domestics beyond the guards, to an obscure place where he could get out unseen. He proceeded to the suburbs of Delhi, where he had a horse prepared, mounted, with Sumbhajee behind him, and reached Muttra next day, where several of his Bramins, and his faithful friend Tannajee Maloosray were watching the result of his scheme. Every thing was prepared, Sumbhajee was consigned to the care of a Bramin family, natives of Poona Desh, and distantly connected with Moro Trimmul Pingley.* Sumbhajee remained in their charge several months, and was afterwards conveyed by them to the Deccan.

Sivajee's escape was not known until a late hour on the following day, owing to the precaution of making one of his domestics pretend indisposition, and lie down on his bed, so that before the alarm spread, pursuit was fruitless. His party as well as himself escaped, in the disguise of Gosaeens; they visited several places of religious

* One MS. by Kistnajee Anund Subhasud, says Moro Punt's sister was married to one of the sons.

resort; but the route by which they returned to the Deccan is not satisfactorily ascertained. Sivajee did not throw off his disguise until his arrival at Raigurh, which he reached in December, 1666, after an absence of nine months. *

In the meantime affairs in the Deccan assumed an aspect more favourable to his views than he had anticipated. Jey Sing had laid siege to Beejapoor, but on his advance, and during his operations, he was incessantly harassed by the Deccan horse. His supplies were cut off; little rain had fallen during the preceding season, and there was much sickness and great scarcity of water in his camp.

The King of Golcondah, encouraged by the slow progress of the Moghuls, sent a detachment under Nek Nam Khan, one of his generals, to the assistance of Beejapoor. Aurungzebe's envoy at the court of Kootub Shah remonstrated, and threatened in consequence, but no assistance was sent to Jey Sing, and the latter became sensible that the sacrifice both of his own character, and of the lives of his brave Rajpoots, was, at the least, a matter of indifference to the emperor. Under these circumstances he determined to retreat to Aurungabad. This was not effected without loss, but was not attended with those disastrous consequences which had repeatedly occurred on similar

* The account of Sivajee's visit and imprisonment, and of his escape from Delhi, is on the authority of Mahratta MSS. Scott's Deccan, and Khafee Khan. His escape was known in the Deccan long before he reached it. The English factors at Carwar, in a letter dated September 29th, 1666, observe, "If it be true that Sivajee hath escaped, Aurungzebe will quickly hear of him to his sorrow."

occasions. Jey Sing had not the means of supporting many of the garrisons in the forts surrendered by Sivajee, or captured by his aid. He, therefore, placed strong garrisons in Logurh, Singurh, and Poorundhur, and also, in Maholy, and Kurnalla, in the Concan.* A few men were left in such of the others as had still a supply of provisions; and of the remainder, he directed the gates to be burned, and such part of the defences to be destroyed as could be hastily thrown down.†

A. D. 1667. The opportunity of re-occupying them was not neglected. Moro Punt repaired them, replaced the garrisons, drove out the Moghul parties, and Sivajee's safe arrival in the Concan was announced, by the re-capture of a great portion of the province of Kallian. His escape from Delhi was a great mortification to Aurungzebe, although he pretended that he meant to have dismissed him in an honourable manner; he accused Ram Sing of having assisted in his flight, and forbade him the court. Jey Sing, on pretence of his discomfiture, was superseded in the government of the Deccan by Sultan Mauzum, and Jeswunt Sing was directed to accompany the prince. Jey Sing, on being relieved, was ordered to court, but his death, which happened on the road, deprived Aurungzebe of one of his best officers. It was the bane of that emperor's reign that all those whose services might have best contributed to his prosperity were mistrusted by him. Dilere Khan remained some time in the Deccan, and he was only removed for a short time to Malwa; he was no favourite with the

* Mahratta MSS. † Khafee Khan.

prince, and he was detested by Jeswunt Sing; his presence in their neighbourhood, therefore, suited the jealous temper of Aurungzebe.

The emperor pretended an intention of again invading Beejapoor, but the northern part of his dominions required his presence. Pride prevented him from subjecting his son to disgrace, and jealousy would never permit him to entrust an army, sufficiently large for conquest, under any deputy.

CHAP. VII.

FROM A. D. 1667. TO A. D. 1669.

Sultan Mauzum and Jeswunt Sing — their characters. — Sivajee through them obtains various favours from the Emperor. — The reported intention of Sultan Mauzum, to rebel against his father, doubted. — Peace concluded between Beejapoor and the Moghuls. — The states of Beejapoor and Golcondah agree to pay Sivajee an annual tribute. — Unsuccessful attempts of Sivajee against Goa and Jinjeera. — Rumours respecting Sivajee, whilst he is revising and improving his civil and military arrangements — his remarkable institutions — the formation, discipline, and interior economy of his troops — his forts — financial and judicial regulations — chief offices and persons through whom his government was administered.

A.D. 1667.

THE re-appointment of Sultan Mauzum, as viceroy of the Deccan, accompanied by Jeswunt Sing, was very agreeable to Sivajee; with the latter he had become personally acquainted at Delhi. Jeswunt Sing was generally considered of a respectable character, but known to be tainted, in a high degree, with the vice of avarice, so common to Rajpoots. He was also a staunch Hindoo*, suspected by Aurungzebe, whom he first opposed, and afterwards joined during his rebellion. Sultan Mohummud Mauzum was, in many respects, a prince of an excellent disposition: he was brave, generous, and confiding; but with the

* His well known letter to Aurungzebe concerning the *jizeea* or poll-tax, on all persons not professing Mahomedanism, is preserved by the Raja of Kolapoor, as the production of Sivajee.

defects which some of these qualities, unrestrained, may engender; he was fond of pleasure, lavish, easily persuaded, and much swayed by Jeswunt Sing.

Sivajee did not deceive himself in supposing that gold might effect much with persons of this character; and he accordingly used it with no sparing hand. The ostensible intercourse between Sivajee and Sultan Mauzum commenced by a petition from the former, imploring the prince to intercede for him, assuring him of his sincerity, and of his intention to adhere for the future to the emperor, although his services had been slighted. Representations were, in due form, made to court: and it being at all events then convenient for Aurungzebe to accede to them, Sultan Mauzum obtained for Sivajee the title * of Raja, a confirmation of the munsub for Sumbhajee, and a Jagheer in Berar. † To the charge of this new and distant acquisition, which was given in preference to admitting any claim on Joonere, or Ahmednugur, a Bramin, named Raojee Somnath, was dispatched with a fit establishment, and with the old Beejapoor title of Mokassadar ‡, thus applied, for the first time, to a Mahratta collector. Sumbhajee, with a body of horse, was sent to join the prince at Aurungabad; but owing to his extreme youth he was permitted to return to his father §, and Kartojee Goozur, dignified by Sivajee with the title of Per-

* Original letter. † Mahratta MSS.
‡ Mahratta MS. and paper.
§ Scott's Deccan, and Mahratta MSS.

tab Rao, and with the rank of Surnobut of the horse *, was left in command of the contingent. The districts of Poona, Chakun, and Sopa, were also restored to Sivajee, but the commanding forts of Singurh and Poorundhur were retained. †

A.D 1668. There is no way in which we can account for the emperor's acquiescing in all these favours to Sivajee, unless with a view of again alluring him into his power, as is asserted in the Mahratta manuscripts; but there is no evidence of Sultan Mauzum's having been, from the first, privy to that design, or any satisfactory proof of his lending himself to his father in a feigned rebellion, for the triple purpose of entrapping Sivajee, ascertaining the disaffected nobles in the empire, and rendering himself an object of suspicion and distrust to all who would venture their lives in his cause.

Of such refinement in intrigue, it is, on first view, very possible to conceive Aurungzebe capable; but farther considered, danger, folly, and baseness in the parties, are too conspicuous to admit the probability without the clearest proof.

About the middle of this year, a treaty was concluded at Agra betwixt Aurungzebe and Ali Adil

* Mahratta MSS. Netajee Palkur, the predecessor of Kartojee Goozur, was, according to Khafee Khan, made prisoner by Jey Sing, and sent to Delhi by the emperor's orders, where he became a Mahomedan, obtained a munsub, and the title of Mohummud Koolee, but afterwards returned to Sivajee. This is not mentioned by the Mahrattas, although it may have been so. Among Mahrattas he never could have been respected, obeyed, or noticed, as a renegado.

† Mahratta MSS.

Shah; the terms, on the part of the Beejapoor court, were negotiated by Shah Abdool Hoossein Kamana, who gave up, as the price of peace, the fort of Sholapoor, and territory yielding 180,000 pagodas of annual revenue. No other particulars are ascertained; but in consequence, as is supposed, of this treaty, Sivajee, lest the Moghuls should interfere, had an interview with Jeswunt Sing, and the prince, in order to purchase their connivance to his designs on Beejapoor and Golcondah. * He was about to levy his chouth and surdeshmookhee from the former, when Abdool Mohummud, the prime minister, purchased exemption, by agreeing to pay him an annual sum of three lacks of rupees. † This compact, like the others entered into with that minister by Sivajee, was kept secret at Beejapoor, ‡ where the Mahomedans had still pride enough to feel the degrading submission of paying tribute to Hindoos, although a factious nobility and a wasteful court deprived the minister of means to assert the dignity of the kingdom.

Some agreement of a similar nature was entered into by Kootub Shah §, and the amount stipulated at five lacks of rupees.

Whilst such was the state of his political relations in the Deccan, Sivajee turned his attention to acquiring complete possession of the Concan. Goa and Jinjeera were his first objects; but a plot he had formed for the surprise of the Portuguese settle-

* English Records and Mahratta MS.
† Mahratta MSS. and Scott's Deccan.
‡ Mahratta MSS.
§ Scott's Deccan.

ment was discovered, and frustrated *, and his utmost efforts were in vain exerted to possess himself of the impregnable Jinjeera. The Seedee, however, was hard pressed; he solicited assistance from the English at Bombay; and the factors were so little conscious of the importance of their own island, that they suggested to their supreme council at Surat the many advantages of Jinjeera over Bombay as a settlement †; but their injudicious recommendation appears to have been treated with the neglect it merited.

A. D. 1669. The years 1668 and 1669 were those of greatest leisure in Sivajee's life. Some of his contemporaries, speculating on future events, supposed, from his apparent inactivity, that he would soon sink into insignificance ‡; but he employed this interval in revising and completing the internal arrangements of his government; with which, and his various institutions, we shall now endeavour to make the reader acquainted. They will be found well worthy of attention, not only in themselves, but as a key to elucidate the forms of government afterwards adopted by every Mahratta state. Sivajee's regulations were gradually formed and enlarged, but, after a certain period, underwent no change by the extension of his territory, until he assumed the ensigns of royalty. Even then, the alterations directed, were rather in matters of form than innovations on established rules. The plans of Mahratta encroachment, which were after-

* Mahratta MS. and English Records.

† English Records. Letter from the factors at Bombay.

‡ Correspondence of the English factories.

wards pursued so successfully by his nation, may be traced from a very early period; and nothing is more remarkable, in regard to Sivajee, than the foresight with which some of his schemes were laid, and the fitness of his arrangements for the genius of his countrymen.

The foundation of his power was his infantry; his occupation of the forts gave him a hold on the country, and a place of deposit for his plunder. His cavalry as far as we have proceeded, had not yet spread the terror of the Mahratta name where the existence of such a people was unknown; but we shall, at once, state, as briefly as the subject will admit, the rules of formation and discipline for his troops, the interior economy of his infantry and cavalry, the regulations for his forts, his revenue and judicial arrangements, and the chief offices through which his government was administered.

Sivajee's infantry was raised in the Ghaut-Mahta and Concan; those of the former tract were called Mawulees, those of the latter Hetkurees. These men brought their own arms, and were only furnished with ammunition by government. Their dress, though not uniform, was generally a pair of short drawers coming half way down the thigh, a strong narrow band of considerable length, tightly girt about the loins, a turban, and sometimes a cotton frock. Most of them wore a cloth round their waist, which likewise answered the purposes of a shawl.

Their common arms consisted of a sword, shield, and matchlock. Some of the Hetkurees, especially the infantry of Sawunt-Waree, used a species of

firelock; the invention of the lock for the flint having been early received from the Portuguese. Every tenth man, instead of fire arms, carried a bow and arrows which were useful in night attacks, and surprizes, when the fire arms were kept in reserve or prohibited. The Hetkurees excelled as marksmen; but they could seldom be brought to desperate attacks, sword in hand, for which the Mawulees of Sivajee became celebrated. Both of them possessed an extraordinary facility of climbing, and could mount a precipice, or scale a rock with ease, where men of other countries must have run great risk of being dashed to pieces.

Every ten men had an officer called a Naik, and every fifty *a Havildar*. The officer over a hundred was termed *Joomladar*, and the commander of a thousand was styled *ek-Huzaree*. There were also officers of five thousand, between whom and the Surnobut, or chief commander, there was no intermediate gradation.

The cavalry were of the two kinds already described, Bargeers and Sillidars*; only Sivajee's Bargeers were generally mounted on horses, the property of the state. A body of this description is termed *Pagah*, or household troops, and Sivajee always placed more dependance on them than on the Sillidars, or any horse furnished on contract by individuals; with both the one and the other of the latter description, he had a proportion of his

* The Sillidars, and all horsemen who did not belong to the Pagah, were obliged to furnish their own ammunition, there were particular rules, and the most careful system of economy laid down by Sivajee for subsisting his Pagah.

Pagah intermixed, to overawe the disobedient, and to perfect his system of intelligence, which abroad and at home, penetrated into a knowledge of the most private circumstances, prevented embezzlement, and frustrated treachery.

The Mahratta horsemen are commonly dressed in a pair of tight breeches covering the knee, a turban which many of them fasten by passing a fold of it under the chin, a frock of quilted cotton, and a cloth round the waist, with which they generally gird on their swords in preference to securing them with their belts. * The horseman is armed with a sword and shield; a proportion in each body carry matchlocks, but the great national weapon is the spear, in the use of which, and the management of their horses, they evince both grace and dexterity. † The spearmen have generally a sword, and sometimes a shield; but the latter is unwieldy, and only carried in case the spear should be broken. ‡

* For ornament many of them wear very heavy gold and silver rings, and large ear-rings, which go round the back of the ear; thick necklaces of silver, and sometimes of gold, curiously wrought, are also much worn. All natives of India wear mustachios, and the Mahrattas when they wish to describe a person as *extraordinarily* fierce-looking, mention his turban tied beneath his chin, and mustachios *almost as thick as their arm.*

† The trained spearmen may always be known among Mahrattas by their riding very long, the ball of the toe touching the stirrup; some of the matchlockmen, and most of the Bramins, ride very short and ungracefully.

‡ With respect to the horse's appointments; the bridle consists of a single head-stall of cotton-rope, or leather, with a small but very severe flexible bit. There is a second head-

Over every twenty-five horsemen Sivajee had a Havildar. To one hundred and twenty-five there was a Joomladar; and to every five Joomlas, or six hundred and twenty-five, he had a Soobehdar. Every Soobeh had an accountant and auditor of accounts, appointed by Sivajee, who were liable to be changed, and were invariably Bramins or Purvoes. To the command of every ten Soobehs, or six thousand two hundred and fifty horse, which were only rated at five thousand, there was a commander styled *Punch-huzaree*, with whom were also stationed a *Muzzimdar*, or Bramin auditor of accounts, and a Purvoe register and accountant, who was called *Ameen*. These were government agents; but besides these, every officer, from the

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stall over that of the bridle, to which is fixed a thong, or cotton band, tightly fastened to the girths, and this forms a strong standing martingale. The Mahratta saddle is composed of two pieces, or sides, of very thick felt, strongly sewed and tied together with thongs or cotton rope, leaving a small space between the sides, so as to prevent pressure on the horse's backbone; attached to this is a crupper, made of cotton rope, frequently covered with a piece of coloured silk or broad cloth. When the saddle is put on, the horseman lays over it his blanket, sometimes a carpet, and any spare clothes he may have. Two cotton bags, or pouches, tied together by a string and thrown over the front part of the saddle, carries either provision or plunder: when all these are adjusted, the horseman mounts, and the last thing is to seize his spear, which is stuck by the horse's head in the ground. On the left side and hind part of the saddle is suspended the tobra or feeding bag already described, in which the pegs for picketing the horse, and his head and heel ropes are carried. The horses in India are tied by ropes fastened to two tent pegs, one on each side, and also by ropes extended behind, which secure their heels.

Joomladar upwards, had one or more carcoons, paid by himself, as well as others in the pay of government.

There was no officer superior to the commander of five thousand, except the Surnobut or chief commander. There was one Surnobut for the cavalry, and one for the infantry.

Every Joomla, Soobeh, and Punch-huzar had an establishment of news-writers and avowed spies, besides the secret intelligencers. Sivajee's head spy was a Mahratta, named Byherjee Naik, to whom, some of the Bramins readily admit, he owed many of the discoveries imputed to the goddess Bhowanee.

The Mahrattas, and probably all natives of India, are in a peculiar manner, roused from indolence and apathy when charged in any degree with responsibility, either in what regards their own conduct, or that of another person. Sivajee, at the commencement of his career, personally inspected every man who offered himself, and obtained security from some persons already in his service, for the fidelity and good conduct of those with whom he was not acquainted. This system of security must soon have made almost every man answerable for some of his comrades; and although it could have been in most instances, but a mere form, owing to the facility with which the responsibility could be evaded, it was always a part of Sivajee's instructions to his officers.

The Mawulees sometimes enlisted, merely on condition of getting a subsistence in grain; but the regular pay of the infantry was from one to

three pagodas * a month; that of the Bargeers was from two to five; and that of a Sillidar from six to twelve pagodas monthly. † All plunder, as well as prize, was the property of government. It was brought at stated times to Sivajee's durbar, or place of public audience, and individuals formally displayed and delivered their captures. They always received some small compensation in proportion; they were praised, distinguished, and promoted according to their success; and *to plunder the enemy* is to this day used by the Mahrattas to express a victory, of which it is in their estimation the only real proof.

The horse, especially at an advanced period of Sivajee's history, were subsisted during the fair season, in the enemy's country; during the rains, they were generally allowed to rest, and were cantoned in different situations near *kooruns* or pasture lands, under the protection of some fort, where the grass of the preceding season was stacked, and grain prepared by the time they returned. For this purpose persons were appointed, to whom rent-free lands were hereditarily assigned. The system was thus preserved, when many of Sivajee's institutions were neglected; and it proved of much consequence to the cause of his countrymen.

* A Beejapoor Pagoda was valued at from three to four rupees.

† The pay of a Joomladar in the infantry was seven pagados; in the cavalry twenty. A Soobehdar of cavalry had fifty pagodas and a palanquin. The pay of a Punch-huzaree was 200 pagodas a month, besides an allowance for a palanquin and *aftabgeer*.

The ancient Hindoo festival of the Dussera was observed by Sivajee with great pomp. It falls at the end of the monsoon, and was particularly convenient for a general muster and review of his troops previous to their taking the field. At this time, each horse was examined, and an inventory and valuation of each soldier's effects were taken, in order to be compared with what he brought back, or eventually to be made good. If a horseman's effects were unavoidably lost, his horse killed, maimed, or destroyed in the government service, they were on due proof replaced; but all plunder or articles discovered, of which a satisfactory account could not be given, were carried to the credit of government, either by confiscating the article, or deducting the amount from the soldier's arrears. It was at the option of the captors to retain almost any article, if fairly brought forward, valued, and paid for.

The accounts were closed annually, and balances due by government were either paid in ready money, or by bills on the collectors of revenue in favor of the officers, but never by separate orders on villages.

The only exceptions to plunder made by Sivajee, were in favor of cows, cultivators, and women; these were never to be molested, nor were any but rich Mahomedans, or Hindoos in their service, who could pay a ransom, to be made prisoners. No soldier in the service of Sivajee was permitted to carry any female follower with him in the field, on pain of death.

His system of intelligence was the greatest check

on every abuse, as well as embezzlement; and his punishments were rigorous. Officers and men who had distinguished themselves, who were wounded, or who had suffered in any way, were always gratified by promotion, honour, or compensation. Sivajee did not approve of the Jagheer system; he confirmed many, but with the exception of the establishment for his forts, he seldom, if ever, bestowed new military Jagheers, and gave away very few as personal assignments. Enam lands were granted by him as well in reward of merit, as in conformity with the tenets of his faith; a gift of land, especially to Bramins, being of all charities the most acceptable to the divinity.

Sivajee's discipline, which required prompt obedience to superiors in every situation, was particularly strict in his forts. The chief person, or Killidar, in the command of a fortress, was termed *Havildar* * ; and under him there was one or more Surnobuts. In large forts, such as Poorundhur, Raigurh, and Panalla, there was a Surnobut to each face. Every fort had a head clerk, and a commissary of grain and stores; the former, a Bramin, was termed *Subnees;* the latter was commonly of the Purvoe cast, and was called *Karkanees.* Orders, in respect to ingress and egress, rounds, watches, and patrols, care of water, grain, stores and ammu-

* I am inclined to think that all commanders of forts, under the Mahomedan governments, not appointed by the king, were termed Havildars, and that the term Killidar now in universal use, was originally the distinguishing appellation of those governors of fortresses who were specially appointed by a royal commission.

nition were most minute; and, the officer of each department was furnished with distinct rules for his guidance, from which no deviation was permitted. A rigid economy characterized all Sivajee's instructions regarding expenditure.

The garrison was sometimes partly composed of the common infantry; but independent of them each fort had a separate and complete establishment. It consisted of Bramins, Mahrattas, Ramoosees, Mhars, and Mangs; the whole were termed *Gurhkurees*. They were maintained by permanent assignments of rent-free lands in the neighbourhood of each fort, which, with the care of the fort, descended hereditarily. The Ramoosees, Mhars, and Mangs were employed on the outpost duty; they brought intelligence, watched all the paths, misled enquiries, or cut off an enemy's stragglers. This establishment, whilst new and vigorous, was admirably suited to Sivajee's purpose, as well as to the genius of the people. The Gurhkurees, in their own language, described the fort as the mother that fed them; and amongst other advantages, no plan could be better devised for providing for old or meritorious soldiers.

Sivajee's revenue arrangements were founded on those of Dadajee Konedeo. The assessments were made on the actual state of the crop, the proportionate division of which is stated to have been three-fifths to the ryot, and two-fifths to government. As soon as he got permanent possession of any territory, every species of military contribution was stopped; all farming of revenue ceased; and the

collections were made by agents appointed by himself.

Every two or three villages were superintended by a carcoon, under the *Turufdar* or *Talookdar*, who had charge of a small district, and was either a Bramin or Purvoe. A Mahratta Havildar * was stationed with each of them. Over a considerable tract, there was a Soobehdar * or *Mamlitdar*, who had charge of one or more forts, in which his collections both of grain and money were secured.

Sivajee never permitted the Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas to interfere in the management of the country; nor did he allow them to collect their dues until they had been ascertained; when an order was annually given for the amount.

The Patells, Khotes, and Koolkurnees, were strictly superintended, and Sivajee's government, though popular with the common cultivators, would have been quite the reverse with the village and district officers, of whom Sivajee was always jealous, had it not been for the resource which all had by entering his military service.

The method which the Bramin ministers of the Mahratta government afterwards adopted, of paying the military and civil servants, by permanent assignments on portions of the revenue of villages, is said to have been early proposed to Sivajee; who objected to it, not only from fear of immediate oppression to the ryot, but from apprehending that it would ultimately cause such a division of authority as must weaken his government, and encourage the

* Both those authorities were civil, not military, as the names might lead some of my readers to suppose.

village and district authorities to resist it, as they frequently did that of Beejapoor. With the same view he destroyed all village walls, and allowed no fortification in his territory which was not occupied by his troops.

Religious establishments were carefully preserved, and temples, for which no provision existed, had some adequate assignment granted to them; but the Bramins in charge were obliged to account for the expenditure. Sivajee never sequestrated any allowance fixed by the Mahomedan government for the support of tombs, mosques, or places of commemoration in honour of saints.

The revenue regulations of Sivajee were simple, and, in some respects, judicious; but during his life, it is impossible they could have been attended with such improvements, and increase of population, as are ascribed to them by his countrymen. His districts were frequently exposed to great ravages; and he never had sufficient leisure to complete his arrangements by that persevering superintendence which alone can perfect such institutions. The Mahomedan writers, and one contemporary English traveller*, describe his country as in the worst possible state; and the former only mention him as a depredator and destroyer; but those districts taken by him from Beejapoor, which had been under the management of farmers or direct agents of government, probably experienced great benefit by the change.

The judicial system of Sivajee, in civil cases was,

* Fryer.

that of Punchayet, which had invariably obtained in the country. Disputes of his soldiers were settled by their officers; but he extracted his criminal law from the Shasters; and the former rulers professing the tenets of the Koran, had naturally introduced innovations, which long custom sanctioned and perpetuated. This accounts for the differences that may be still found between Hindoo law and Mahratta usage.

To assist in the conduct of his government, Sivajee established eight principal offices, the names of which, and the persons holding them at this period, were as follow:

1st. Peishwa, head manager or prime minister. This office, we have already mentioned, was held by Moro Punt *, or Moreishwur Trimmul Pingley.

2d. Muzzimdar,† general superintendent of finance

* Moro Punt was his familiar name, or that which would be used in conversation; a custom common among Mahrattas, but which often makes it difficult to recognize, in their writings or letters, the names of people with whose history or persons we may be well acquainted. The very next name is an instance and illustration of this remark, Neeloo Punt Sonedeo was the real name of Abajee Sonedeo; but the familiar appellation of Abajee, given to him in boyhood, is that by which he is generally known, though his real name frequently occurs in the Mahratta manuscripts.

† This word, already used, is a corruption of the Persian *muzmooadar*; but the correct expression would scarcely be understood by the Mahrattas. Muzzimdar is now in fact a Mahratta word. Instances of the kind, occur repeatedly, where I have preferred using the word generally known in the Mahratta country. Although I may offend the ear of Persian scholars

and auditor general of accounts. His civil duties were consequently very important, and his establishment necessarily extensive. Abajee Sonedeo, Soobehdar of the province of Kallianee, was Muzzimdar.

3d. Soornees, general record keeper, superintendent of the department of correspondence, examiner of all letters: all deeds and grants were first entered on his books, and the attestation of his examination and entry was necessary to their validity; this office was held by Annajee Dutto.

4th. Wankanees. The duty of this officer was to keep the private journal, records, and letters. He was a superintendent of the household troops and establishment: the office was held by Duttajee Punt.

5th. The Surnobut. There were two Surnobuts, one commanding the cavalry, Pertab Rao Goozur, and another the infantry, Yessjee Kunk.

6th. Dubeer, or minister for foreign affairs, and in charge of all business and messengers from other states. This office belonged to Somnath Punt.

7th. Nyadeish, or superintendent of judicial affairs. This department was managed by Neerajee Rowjee and Gomajee Naik.

8th. Nya Shastree, expounder of Hindoo law and the Shasters; all matters of religion, of criminal law, and of science, especially what regarded judicial astrology, belonged to this office; to which

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by such a practice, any one who has much to do with Mahrattas, will, I think, find it more useful, and in the Mahratta history, it is surely more correct.

Sembha Oopadheea, and afterwards Rugonath Punt *, was appointed.

The officers at the head of these civil situations, except the Nyadeish and Nyashastree, held military commands, and frequently had not leisure to superintend their duties. All, therefore, had deputies called *Karbarees*, to assist them, who frequently had power to annex the seal or mark of their principals on public documents; when so empowered, they were styled Mootaliqs and each department, and every district establishment, had eight subordinate officers, under whom there were an adequate number of assistants. These officers were,

1st. The Karbaree, Mootaliq, or Dewan.
2d. The Muzzimdar, or auditor and accountant.
3d. The Furnees or Furnuwees, deputy auditor and accountant.
4th. The Subnees, or clerk, sometimes styled Dufturdar.
5th. The Karkanees, or commissary.
6th. The Chitnees, or clerk of correspondence.
7th. The Jamdar, or treasurer in charge of all valuables except cash.
8th. Potnees, or cashkeeper.

Attached to himself, Sivajee had a treasurer, a Chitnees, and Furnees, besides a Farisnees, or Persian secretary. His Chitnees was a Purvoe, named Ballajee Aujee, whose acuteness and intelligence are

* This Rugonath Punt Nyashastree, was one of Sivajee's earliest and most confidential adherents; he was frequently employed as his envoy, but must not be confounded with Rugonath Punt Hunwuntay.

recorded by the English government at Bombay, on an occasion of his being sent there on business.

Bal Kishen Punt Hunwuntay, a near relation of the head manager of Shahjee, was Sivajee's Furnees, and it is remarkable, as it bespeaks a connection maintained, that his treasurer was the grandson of Seshao Naik Poonday, of Chumargoondee, the person with whom Mallojee Bhonslay's money was deposited before the marriage of Shahjee. *

* This account of Sivajee's institutions, is as a brief an extract as I could make, from original papers now in possession of the Raja of Satara, or his Chitnees, the hereditary descendant of Ballajee Aujee. I have also obtained considerable information from a mass of records, belonging to Surwuttum Baboo Rao, the present Punt Amat.

CHAP. VIII.

FROM A. D. 1670. TO A. D. 1676.

The tranquillity of the Deccan is interrupted — Interesting and daring enterpize — Singurh escaladed, and Tannajee Maloosray slain — Several forts taken. — Jinjeera on the point of being delivered up to Sivajee — prevented by a revolution. — The Seedees enter the Moghul service. — Sivajee plunders Surat — is intercepted on his return — stratagem for saving his booty — Attacks the Moghul troops, and defeats them — Naval operations. — Candeish plundered, and the Chouth imposed. — Oundha, Putta, and Salheir taken. — Causes of the inactivity of the Moghuls. — Jeswunt Sing is relieved by Mohabet Khan — feeble operations against the forts. — Salheir besieged. — relieved. — The Mahrattas obtain a great victory. — Sivajee at war with the Portuguese — attempts to surprise a small fort on Salsette. — English alarmed — press their long pending claims on Sivajee. — Khan Jehan Buhadur appointed Viceroy of the Moghul possessions — his defensive system disapproved by Dilere Khan, who had been successful against Chakun. — Sivajee visits Golcondah — his coast suffers by a descent from the fleets of Surat and Jinjeera. — Death of Ali Adil Shah. — Khowaus Khan appointed regent at Beejapoor. — Sivajee retakes Panalla — plunders Hooblee. — English apply to him for indemnification. — Sivajee prosecutes the war against Beejapoor — conciliates the Moghul Viceroy — takes Purlee — Satara, and several forts in its neighbourhood. — Pertab Rao attacks the Beejapoor army on its march — grants an armistice, which is disapproved by Sivajee. — Pertab Rao, without Sivajee's permission, makes a distant excursion. — Abdool Khureem, whilst Sivajee is engaged in the siege of Ponda, makes an effort to recover Panalla. — Pertab Rao arrives — receives a message from Sivajee — attacks the Beejapoor army, and is defeated and killed. — Victory snatched from the Mahomedans, by the valour and conduct of Hussajee Mohitey. — Suntajee Ghorepuray and Dhunnajee Jadow are

distinguished.— Hussajee Mohitey appointed Senaputtee, with the title of Humbeer Rao. — Death of Abajee Sonedeo. — Siege of Ponda raised. — Sivajee is enthroned, and assumes the titles and insignia of royalty.— Treaty with the English — tribute from the Portuguese. — Ounda and Putta retaken. — Incursion of Humbeer Rao. — Ponda taken. — Murder of Khowaus Khan. — Sivajee builds a line of forts from Tattora to Panalla — is confined by illness at Satara — projects a most important expedition.

A. D. 1670. THE apparent inactivity of Sivajee, and the peace between the Beejapoor state and the Moghuls, gave hopes of a tranquillity long unknown in the Deccan. Sivajee, it was supposed, satisfied with what he had already acquired, or sensible of his inability to cope with the imperial armies, would now abstain from depredation, and endeavour to secure the favor of the Moghul viceroy by presents, such as were customary from those who were not altogether independent of his authority. It was, indeed, well known, that both Sultan Mauzum, and Jeswunt Sing, were in the habit of receiving large sums of money from Sivajee; and the report became at last so general, that Aurungzebe, desirous probably of dissolving their connection, if he could not succeed in again drawing Sivajee into his power, sent a peremptory order, threatening his son with severe displeasure if he did not apprehend Sivajee, Pertab Rao Goozur, and several of the principal officers. Before the public order arrived, Sultan Mauzum, apprized of its approach, privately warned Pertab Rao Goozur, who, accompanied by Sivajee's envoy, Neerajee Ramjee, fled with the horse the same

night, and safely reached Poona, although pursued by a detachment sent after them by Sultan Mauzum to save appearances with the emperor.

The temporizing measures, for a time adopted by Aurungzebe, having thus assumed a character decidedly hostile, Sivajee soon displayed his wonted energy; and those who had prognosticated his future insignificance, or his fall, were this year astonished by a career of enterprizes, exceeding, if possible, all he had yet done. His first object was to endeavour to get possession of the important fortresses of Singurh and Poorundhur, which completely obstructed his communication with Poona and Chakun, and were strongly garrisoned by Rajpoots. Singurh, Sivajee justly considered one of the strongest forts in the country; and as the commandant Ooday Bawn was a very celebrated soldier, and had a choice body of men, it was supposed impregnable. This fancied security of the garrison, however, had rendered them negligent; and Sivajee laid a plan for surprizing the place. Tannajee Maloosray, whom he consulted on the occasion, offered to take it, on condition of being permitted to have his younger brother along with him, and to choose one thousand Mawulees for the purpose, None of the Mawulee attacks are given so consistently and distinctly in different Mahratta manuscripts, as the account of this interesting and daring enterprize.

Singurh is situated on the eastern side of the great Syhadree range, near the point at which the Poorundhur hills branch off into the Deccan: with these hills it only communicates on the east and

west by very high narrow ridges, while on the south and north, it presents a huge rugged mountain, with an ascent of half a mile, in many parts nearly perpendicular. After arriving at this height, there is an immense craggy precipice of black rock, upwards of forty feet high, and similar to that which has, in the first instance, been described as a common feature in the mountains of the Concan, and Ghaut Mahta; surmounting the whole there is a strong stone wall with towers. The fort is of a triangular shape, its interior upwards of two miles in circumference, and the exterior presents, on all sides, the stupendous barrier already mentioned; so that, except by the gates, entrance seems impossible. From the summit, when the atmosphere is clear, is seen to the east the narrow and beautiful valley of the Neera; to the north a great plain, in the fore-part of which, Poona, where Sivajee passed his youth, is a conspicuous object; and though, at the period we have arrived, only a small town, it was destined to become the capital of the vast empire he was founding. To the south and west appear boundless masses of rolling mountains, lost in the blue clouds, or mingled by distance with the sky. In that quarter lies Raigurh; from which place, directed by Tannajee Maloosray, the thousand Mawulees prepared for the attempt on Singurh, set out by different paths, known only to themselves, which led them to unite near the fortress, according to the words of the Mahratta manuscript, "on the ninth night of the dark half of the moon, in the month Magh", (February). ‖ Tannajee divided his men; one-half

remained at a little distance, with orders to advance if necessary, and the other half lodged themselves undiscovered at the foot of the rock. Choosing a part most difficult of access, as being the least liable to discovery, one of their number mounted the rock, and made fast a ladder of ropes, by which they ascended, one by one, and lay down as they gained the inside. Scarce three hundred had entered the fort, when something occasioned an alarm among the garrison that attracted their attention to the quarter by which the Mawulees were ascending. A man advanced to ascertain what was the matter. A deadly arrow from a bowman silently answered his enquiries; but a noise of voices and a running to arms, induced Tannajee to push forward, in hopes of still surprizing them. The bowmen plied their arrows in the direction of the voices; till a blaze of blue lights, and a number of torches kindled by the garrison, showed the Rajpoots armed or arming, and discovered their assailants. A desperate conflict ensued; the Mawulees, though thus prematurely discovered, and opposed by very superior numbers, were gaining ground, until Tannajee Mąloosray fell. They then lost confidence, and were running to the place where they had escaladed, but by that time the reserve, led by Tannajee's brother, Sooryajee, had entered. On learning what had happened, Sooryajee rallied the fugitives, asked "who amongst them would leave their father's remains to be tossed into a pit by Mhars*," told them the ropes were destroyed,

* The Mahrattas who fall in battle are carried off by their companions when it is possible to do so. To leave a comman-

and now was their time to prove themselves Sivajee's Mawulees. This address, their loss of Tannajee, the arrival of their companions, and the presence of a leader, made them turn with a resolution which nothing could withstand. "Hur, Hur, Mahdeo*," their usual cry, on desperate onsets, resounded as they closed, and they soon found themselves in possession of the fort. Their total loss was estimated at one-third their number, or upwards of three hundred killed, or disabled. In the morning, five hundred gallant Rajpoots, together with their commander, were found dead, or wounded; a few had concealed themselves, and submitted; but several hundreds had chosen the desperate alternative of venturing over the rock, and many were dashed to pieces in the attempt.

The preconcerted signal of success, was setting on fire a thatched house in the fort, a joyful intimation to Sivajee; but when he heard that Tannajee Maloosray was killed, he was deeply concerned, and afterwards, on being congratulated, mournfully replied, in allusion to the name he had given the fort, "The den is taken but the lion is slain; we have gained a fort, but, alas! I have lost Tannajee Maloosray!"

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der's body to indiscriminate burial, without the funeral rites, is considered base in the highest degree. 'Father,' is an epithet much used by the soldiery of India, both as a term of respect, as appears in the text, and as a cheering encouragement. The "chulo mera bap,"! "come on my father," so often heard from officers of British Sepoys in action, is precisely the "come on, my boys," and "allons mes enfans" of the English and French.

* Names of Vishnoo and Mahdeo.

Sivajee, though he seldom bestowed pecuniary gifts on the Mawulees, on this occasion gave every private soldier a silver bracelet, or bangle, and proportionate rewards to the officers. Sooryajee was appointed to the command of the fort, and afterwards assisted in taking Poorundhur, March. which was escaladed one month after the capture of Singurh, and fell with little resistance.

The fort of Maholy in the Concan, was not such an easy conquest as Poorundhur. Moro Punt was repulsed with the reported loss * of one thousand men; but the siege was continued with spirit, and the garrison, in hopes of being relieved from Joonere, made a resolute defence, beat off a second assault, and held out for two months; but at the end of that time the fort surrendered. Kurnalla was likewise besieged and taken †, and the whole province of Kallian recovered by the end of June. ‡ Loghur was also surprized and taken; but an attempt on Sewneree failed. §. Sivajee in person superintended the siege of Jinjeera. Every year, since 1661, he had erected batteries against it, and he now put forth his whole strength, in hopes of reducing it before the fair season. Nor was force the only means employed; promises of every kind were resorted to, and Futih Khan, though he at first in-

* English Records. Bombay to Surat, March 21st, 1670.

† The Mahratta MSS. afford no particulars of the manner in which the approaches were carried on in these sieges. The Bombay records in mentioning the siege of Kurnalla, say "they advance by throwing up breast-works of earth and boards which they carry before them."

‡ Mahratta MSS. English records.

§ Mahratta MSS. and Scott's Deccan.

dignantly rejected every inducement, at last began to entertain thoughts of accepting Sivajee's protection, and surrendering. There were, however, three Abyssinians under him, who had rendered themselves particularly obnoxious to Sivajee; they were also bigoted Mussulmans, detested the Mahratta name, and being alarmed for their own safety, in case Futih Khan should submit, they determined to prevent such a measure at all hazards. To this end, they formed a conspiracy among their countrymen, and having obtained their suffrage, Futih Khan was placed in confinement, and greatly to Sivajee's disappointment, they continued the defence of the place. They afterwards applied to the Moghul governor of Surat, offering, if duly supported, to hold their Jagheer and the Beejapoor fleet under the imperial authority. The names of these three Abyssinians were, Seedee Sumbhole, Seedee Yakoot, and Seedee Khyroo. The two last gave up their pretensions in favor of Seedee Sumbhole. Their proposals were accepted by the governor of Surat, and the terms confirmed by Aurungzebe, who changed the title of the principal Seedee, from Wuzeer to Yakoot Khan.*

Oct. 3. The rains had scarcely subsided when Sivajee appeared at the gates of Surat, at the head of fifteen thousand men. It so happened that the governor of Surat had died suddenly during the preceding month; and a con-

* This account of the Revolution at Jinjeera, is on the authority of Khafee Khan, but I am not certain of the exact date of the transfer of the fleet to the Moghuls. Their previous dependance on Beejapoor had long been nominal.

siderable garrison which had been before thrown into the town, in consequence of a report of Sivajee's intention to plunder it, were, by accident or design, withdrawn by Jeswunt Sing, or the prince. In this unprotected state, with only a few hundred men in the castle, the city was leisurely pillaged for three days. The English, as on a former occasion, defended themselves successfully, under the direction of Mr. Streingham Masters, one of their factors, and killed many of the Mahrattas. The Dutch factory being in a retired quarter, was not molested; but the French purchased an ignominious neutrality, by permitting Sivajee's troops to pass through their factory to attack an unfortunate Tartar prince*, who was on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca, and whose property became part of Sivajee's boasted spoils on this occasion.

After the third day, Sivajee, in consequence of intelligence from Burhanpoor, suddenly withdrew his army; and having left a letter for the inhabitants, demanding a tribute of twelve lacks of rupees a year, as the price of exemption from future pillage, he returned towards his own territory by the great road of Salheir. He had passed Kunchin Munchin, near Chandore, when he was closely pursued by a detachment of five thousand cavalry, under Daood Khan, a Moghul officer, whose approach occasioned no alarm; but Sivajee

* The English factors call him "the late king of Kascar, deposed by his own son," Sivajee, say they, found in his quarters a vast treasure in gold, silver, and plate, a gold bed, and other rich furniture.

soon perceived that a larger body had got between him and the great pass near Nassuck, by which he intended to re-enter the Concan. He, therefore, broke his army into four or five divisions, in order to distract the enemy. A party from one of these divisions began to skirmish with the larger body; two of them threatened to charge it; whilst one division, to whom the treasure was intrusted, passed the enemy, pushed on towards the Ghaut, and made the best of their way into the Concan. Sivajee would have avoided an action, had he been sure of saving his booty, but he was obliged to move slowly to favour the escape of the division in charge of it. In the meantime Daood Khan came up, when Sivajee wheeled about, attacked, and drove him back; after which, having left a party to defend his rear, he moved on to the large body. Finding them drawn up on the banks of a tank, he instantly charged them, which being unexpected, the whole were put to the route, and amongst the rest, a body of Mahrattas, commanded by the widow of the Deshmookh of Mahoor, whom he took prisoner, treated her with great respect, and sent her home with valuable presents. *

On Sivajee's return he made great preparations both by sea and land. Ten thousand horse under Pertab Rao Goozur, and twenty thousand foot commanded by the Peishwa, marched for the northward, whilst a fleet of one hundred and sixty vessels passed Bombay, intended, as was supposed,

* Mahratta MSS.

to co-operate in an attack on Baroach; but, if such was the intention, it appears to have been abandoned in favour of more extensive operations. The fleet was recalled, and they returned to Dabul with a large Portuguese ship which they had captured off Damaun. The Portuguese, on the other hand, took twelve of Sivajee's vessels, and carried them into Bassein. *

Pertab Rao Goozur was ordered to make
Decem. an incursion into Candeish, then a very rich and populous province, which Sivajee, judging from his late victory, justly supposed would be found unprotected. Pertab Rao levied contributions, and plundered several large towns, particularly Kurinja; but the most memorable circumstance of this expedition was the exaction of a writing from the village authorities, on his route, in which they promised to pay to Sivajee, or his officers, one fourth of the yearly revenue due to government. Regular receipts were promised on the part of Sivajee, which should not only exempt them from pillage, but ensure them protection. † Hence we may date the first imposition of Mahratta chouth on a province immediately subject to the Moghuls.

* English Records partly confirmed by Mahratta MS.

† Mahratta MSS. and English Records. The Surat factors particularly notice this incursion, which they suppose was headed by Sivajee in person. They mention his having exacted the promise of chouth, and that he "*very severely* plundered Kurinja, and carried away all the chief men, except such as escaped in women's clothes," from which it is evident that the Moghuls knew by experience, that part of Sivajee's regulations regarding protection to females.

A.D. 1671. Jan. Moro Punt, at the head of the infantry, took several forts, amongst which Oundha and Putta are particularly mentioned, and the important fortress of Salheir.

During these extraordinary successes of Sivajee, the inactivity of the Moghuls is chiefly to be ascribed to their want of troops. Whilst the Peishwa was besieging Maholy there was a considerable force at Joonere, and five thousand spare troops at Surat; but Sivajee could, at that time, collect at least forty thousand men to dispute their advance, or intercept their retreat. A deficiency of force, however, on the part of the Moghuls, was not the only cause which operated in Sivajee's favour. Common report represented Sultan Mauzum as in league with him; and we have seen that a good understanding did exist between them. Jeswunt Sing was certainly no enemy to Sivajee; at his recommendation frequent applications were made for reinforcements, which he well knew Aurungzebe was too jealous to grant. There is, as we have already observed, no satisfactory evidence of Sultan Mauzum's intended rebellion; but, in desiring reinforcements, and in not doing his utmost against Sivajee, he may have been influenced by the natural desire of all the sons of the Moghul emperors, to strengthen their own party, as at the death of their father, they had no alternative between them and the grave, excepting a prison or a throne. The same reason may have made him regard the increasing depredations of Sivajee without regret, as they afforded a pretext for enlisting followers, and a prospect of compel-

ling Aurungzebe to accede to his views. But in this hope he was disappointed. Jeswunt Sing was recalled, and forty thousand men were sent into the Deccan, under the command of Mohabet Khan, who was so completely independent of Sultan Mauzum, that he scarcely allowed one thousand horse to remain with the prince at Aurungabad.

Mohabet Khan commenced operations against Sivajee by endeavouring to reduce his forts; but, at the setting in of the rains, he had only retaken Oundha and Putta, when he withdrew to cantonments, and the ensuing season was considerably advanced before his army appeared in the field. * At length, one half of the force under Dilere Khan attacked Chakun, and the other half laid siege to Salheir. Sivajee, sensible of the great importance of the latter fort, determined on making an effort to save it. The garrison, from some cause not clearly explained, had not been able to lay in a sufficient store of provisions, and two thousand of Sivajee's best horse, stationed in its immediate vicinity, had been cut to pieces by a body of Patans; circumstances which rendered speedy succour essential. † On this service Moro Punt, and Pertab Rao Goozur, were both detached with twenty thousand horse, and ordered to give battle. As soon as the Moghul general ‡ heard of their approach, he sent the great-

A.D. 1672.

* Mahratta MSS. partly confirmed by English Records.

† Mahratta MSS.

‡ I conclude that Mohabet Khan was the general who sent Ikhlas Khan to oppose the Mahrattas, and that there is a mis-

est part of his force to oppose them, under an officer named Ikhlass Khan. Pertab Rao, who commanded the advance of the Mahrattas, seeing Ikhlass Khan eager to attack him, waited his approach, drew him on to charge, fled before him until the Moghul troops were broken, when, turning round, supported by Moro Punt, he gave them a signal defeat. The Moghuls recovered their order and rallied to the last; but they were charged, broken, and routed with prodigious slaughter; twenty-two officers of note were killed, and several of the principal commanders wounded and made prisoners. The Mahrattas lost Sur Rao Kakray*, a commander of five thousand, and had upwards of five hundred killed and wounded.

This victory was the most complete ever achieved by Sivajee's troops, in a fair fought action with the Moghuls, and contributed greatly to the renown of the Mahrattas. Its immediate consequence was, the abandonment of the siege of Salheir, and a precipitate retreat of the army to Aurungabad. Sivajee treated the prisoners of rank who were sent to Raigurh, with distinction, and when their wounds were healed, he dismissed them in an honourable manner.† Such prisoners as

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take in the Mahratta manuscript, which mentions that he was detached by Dilere Khan.

* Sur Rao Kakray was one of Sivajee's earliest followers; he was originally a leader of Mawulees, and particularly distinguished himself at the attack on Jowlee and escalade of Rohira.

† Mahratta MSS., partly confirmed by Scott's Deccan, and English records.

chose to remain were admitted into his service; and deserters, both from the Beejapoor and the Moghul armies, began to join the Mahratta standard in considerable numbers.*

During the rains, Sivajee possessed himself of several places in the northern Concan, which had belonged to Koolee Rajas, or petty polygars, whom he compelled to join him. As he was at war with the Portuguese, and was threatening to drive them from the coast, unless they paid him tribute, it was expected from the vicinity of the Koolee possessions that he would attack the forts of Damaun and Bassein. An attempt was made, by a party of Sivajee's troops to surprize the small fort of Gorabundur on the island of Salsette, then in possession of the Portuguese; but they were repulsed. The English at Bombay were so much alarmed at this near approach to their settlement, that they began to strengthen their fortifications, and became solicitous to conclude some treaty with Sivajee, which should have for its object indemnification for past losses and reciprocal advantages hereafter. Hitherto the English had not suffered materially by the ravages of Sivajee; and at Bombay, even when he was attacking the factory at Surat, an interchange of civilities used to take place; the reason of which was, that the island of Bombay was dependant on the continent for grain and firewood; and Sivajee's coast would have been greatly exposed had the

* Mahratta MSS. and English Records. The standard of Sivajee, or the national flag of the Mahrattas, is called the *Bhugwa Jenda*. It is swallow-tailed, of a deep orange colour, and particularly emblematic of the followers of Mahdeo.

English suffered the Moghuls to pass through their harbour for the purpose of attacking him. Ever since the plunder of Rajapoor, in January 1661, the English had been petitioning Sivajee for indemnification. They estimated their loss at upwards of ten thousand pagodas; and Sivajee continued to assure them that if they would assist him against Jinjeera, or even re-establish their factory, he would make good the injury. The English, on the other hand, declared themselves neutral,—that they were mere merchants, who never took up arms except to defend their property, and that before they could return to Rajapoor, they required security for the fulfilment of his promises. *

In the meantime, a change had taken place in the government of the Moghul provinces. Both Mohabet Khan and Sultan Mauzum, were recalled, and Khan Jehan Buhadur, † governor of Guzerat, was appointed viceroy of the Deccan. Khan Jehan, under a supposition that his force was not adequate to offensive operations, adopted a scheme of blocking up the Ghauts, to prevent Mahratta incursion, and defend the passes left open with artillery; but this plan was disapproved by Dilere Khan, his second in command. That officer had been successful in his attack on Chakun the preceding season; he exposed the fallacy of a defensive system, and recommended a vigorous attack on the principal forts with the force at their disposal, however

* English Records, confirmed by Mahratta MSS.

† He was then Buhadur Khan. He got his title of Khan Jehan Buhadur afterwards, but to prevent confusion in the name, I have at once adopted that by which he is best known.

inadequate. But his arguments had no effect on the new viceroy; and the Mahratta horse, as might have been expected, instead of entering Candeish by the passes where Khan Jehan posted himself, appeared in different parties about Aurungabad and Ahmednugur. * The viceroy went in pursuit of them in various directions, but without success, and at last cantoned, for the rains, at Pairgaom on the Beema, where he erected a fortification, and gave it the name of Buhadurgurh †.

Whilst the Khan was thus employed, Sivajee undertook a secret expedition to Golcondah, where he is said to have exacted a contribution to a large amount ‡, and safely conveyed the money to Raigurh. On the march, or immediately after his return, he let loose the greater part of his cavalry on the Moghul territory, levying contributions from towns, and plundering the smaller villages. In the details of this predatory warfare, both the Mahrattas and Moghuls claim advantages; if the former fled, they generally brought off their booty; an object which the horsemen were taught to regard as the most substantial honour.

During Sivajee's absence at Golcondah, his towns and villages, on the coast, had sustained great damage by a descent from the combined fleets from Surat and Jinjeera. § The batteries at Dhunda

* Scott's Deccan. English Records. Mahratta MSS.

† It does not retain this name, but it continued for upwards of forty years one of the principal depots of the Moghul army.

‡ Wilks, Orme, Mahratta MS.

§ English records, Mahratta MSS.

Rajepoor were also stormed and destroyed, and Ragoo Bullal, who commanded them, was killed. *

But the loss thus sustained was compensated by his visit to Golcondah; and the successful campaign of the ensuing year, greatly encreased his power and resources.

On the 15th of December 1672, the Sultan of Beejapoor had a paralytic stroke, brought on by excess of various kinds; and although he lingered several days, during which he made some arrangements respecting the regency, he never arose from his bed.

His son Sultan Sikundur was then in the fifth year of his age. Ali Adil Shah had no other son, and only one daughter, Padshah Beebee. Abdool Mohummud, the prime minister, was of a respectable private character, but shrunk from the task which his situation imposed. The other principal persons at the Bejapoor court, were Khowaus Khan, Abdool-Khureem Bahlole Khan†, and Muzuffir Khan.

These three, with their dependants and attendants, were more intent on strengthening their own

* Mahratta MSS. This Ragoo Bullal was the same person who murdered the Raja of Jowlee.

† In Fryer's Travels, in the English Records, and in Mahratta MS. he is called Bahlole or Bullal Khan, and in Persian writings, by his proper name, Abdool Khureem Bahlole Khan, or simply Abdool Khureem. He was the son of Bahlole Khan, an Afghan, originally a follower of the famous Khan Jehan Lodi, and afterwards, as already mentioned, a General under the Nizam Shahee state. He came over to the service of Beejapoor, after Futih Khan had murdered his sovereign, Mortiza Nizam Shah the IId.

factions, than on devising measures for the public advantage. Abdool Mohummud has the credit of being exempted from this censure; but he was destitue of that firmness which is necessary to overaw the factious, and maintain an ascendancy over men's minds, in times of civil discord. In the present instance, certainly no situation could be less enviable; faction agitated the miserable remains of a fallen state, whilst Sivajee on one side, and the Moghuls on the other, threatened its annihilation.

In this state of affairs, Abdool Mohummud recommended that Khowaus Khan should be appointed regent, and that he himself, with the two principal nobles who remained, should each be sent to command in different parts of the kingdom. Kulburga, and the parts adjoining the Moghul territory, he reserved for himself; Abdool-Khureem to have Merich, Panalla, Dharwar, Soonda, Bednore, and the Concan; and Muzuffir Khan to have charge of the rest of the Carnatic. The king, although exceedingly averse to this arrangement, was compelled to adopt it; and Khowaus Khan was sent for to his bed-side, to receive charge of his son and his last injunctions, as recommended by the minister. Khowaus Khan accepted the regency, and promised to fulfil the instructions; but after the king's death, when he had established his power, he postponed sending Abdool-Khureem and Abdool Mohummud to their governments, lest they should make their own terms with the Moghuls; but he despatched Muzuffir Khan to the Carnatic. He endeavoured to reconcile the others by giving Abdool-Khureem command of the troops, and by

treating Abdool Mohummud with every mark of outward respect. Each party had Bramin dependants, who not only fomented the disputes of their masters, but through their Hindoo connections, Sivajee had minute information of all that passed; and as his compact with Abdool Mohummud ceased with the death of Ali Adil Shah, he instantly prepared to take advantage of the distractions which prevailed at Beejapoor. *

A. D. 1673. In the month of March 1673, he secretly assembled a large force at Vishalgurh. A detachment from this body surprised and retook Panalla; but the main object was an attack on the rich mercantile town of Hooblee. The command of the expedition was intrusted to Annajee Dutto; and the booty acquired, exceeded any thing of the kind before taken by the Mahrattas. The account given of the plunder in their manuscripts is incredible; but there is no doubt of its having been very considerable. Merchants of all nations were pillaged; and the Beejapoor troops, stationed for the defence of the town, completed what the Mahrattas had left. The English factory shared in the general misfortunes. † Mr. Aungier, the deputy governor at Bombay, frequently endeavoured to obtain indemnification, both for the lossess at Hooblee and Rajapoor, and took judicious opportunities of pressing the demands. Sivajee persisted in declaring that his troops had not molested the English at Hooblee; and being still in hopes of obtain-

* Beejapoor MSS.

† They lost 7,894 pagodas.

ing their assistance against the Surat and Jinjeera fleets, he continued to express his desire for a treaty, and to hold out expectations of granting re-imbursement for the losses at Rajapoor. Mr. Aungier was also frequently solicited for assistance by the opposite party, paricularly by the Seedee; but he maintained a strict neutrality; and several circumstances occurred, which gave both the one and the other, a high respect for Mr. Aungiers judgment and firmness. *

Sivajee pressed the war with Beejapoor, and, anxious to possess himself of the whole coast, he sent his fleet to take possession of Carwar, Ankola, and various other places; whilst he excited the Deshmookhs to rebel, and drive out the Mahomedan Thannas. The Rana of Bednore, alarmed by the plunder of Hooblee, early solicited protection, agreed to pay a yearly tribute, and permitted a wukeel from Sivajee to reside at his capital. †

As Sivajee was desirous of prosecuting the war on Beejapoor without interruption, he endeavoured to conciliate Khan Jehan by again feigning a desire to be received under the imperial protection, through the Khan's mediation. The viceroy was, or pretended to be, deceived; but it is more than probable that this officer, very soon after his arrival in the Deccan, became subservient to Sivajee's views, on condition of his refraining from pillage in the Moghul territory.

In the month of May a detachment of Mawulees

* Mahratta MSS., Orme, and English records.

† Mahratta MSS.

surprised Purlee; but its capture having put the garrisons in the neighbourhood on the alert, Satara, a fort that had always been kept in good order by the Beejapoor government, which was next invested, sustained a siege for several months, and did not surrender till the beginning of September. It is remarkable, that this fort had been long used as a state prison, anterior, perhaps, to the Edil Shahee dynasty. Sivajee little contemplated its being made applicable to a similar purpose for the persons of his descendants. *

The forts of Chundun, Wundun, Pandoogurh, Nandgheeree, and Tattora, all fell into his hands before the fair season.

The loss of Panalla, the sack of Hooblee, the insurrections about Carwar, and the capture of all these forts, obliged Khowaus Khan to detach Abdool Khureem with an army to the westward. Abdool Khureem regained possession of the open country about Panalla; but Pertab Rao Goozur, having been sent off by Sivajee, appeared in the neighbourhood of Beejapoor, where he plundered with impunity. These depredations induced the regent to recal Abdool Khureem, but Pertab Rao intercepted him between Merich and Beejapoor, and both parties commenced skirmishing. As Pertab Rao outnumbered the army of Beejapoor, by threatening a general attack on one side, and cutting off foragers and stragglers with a part of his troops on the other, he so harassed them, that Abdool Khureem applied for an armistice, and

* Logurh was the state prison of Ahmednugur.

was permitted to return unmolested to Beejapoor. The terms on which this truce was granted are not known, but Sivajee was greatly displeased; and, to add to his mortification, Pertab Rao, on being severely censured, made a very distant excursion into Berar Payeen Ghaut contrary to Sivajee's intention, who had previously commenced the siege of Ponda, which lay between his territory and his late acquisitions to the southward. *

Abdool Khureem, conceiving that an opportunity thus presented itself of retaking Panalla, a great effort was made at Beejapoor to recruit the army. The intention was early imparted to Sivajee, but he was prevented, by the absence of Pertab Rao Goozur, from making a corresponding exertion to prevent the design, without subjecting his own plans to great derangement.

A. D. 1674. In the month of February, preparations being completed, Abdool Khureem marched with a large force towards Panalla.† He had already arrived in the neighbourhood of that place, when Pertab Rao, with the principal part of the horse, at last made his appearance. Sivajee instantly sent him word that he was greatly displeased by his conduct, and desired that he would "never come into his presence until he had plundered the army of Beejapoor." This message was conveyed to Pertab Rao when about to commence the attack. Stung with the reproach, he departed from his usual method, and at once closed with the

* Mahratta MSS.

† Beejapoor MSS., and Mahratta MSS.

enemy.* In a rash charge, on a compact body of the Beejapoor troops, he was cut down with many of his men, and the main body of his army completely routed. Abdool Khureem pursued them with great slaughter, until the fugitives found shelter under the guns of Panalla. But, whilst this took place in the main body, one party of Mahrattas, under Hussajee Mohitey, a commander of five thousand horse, had not been engaged. They came up when the Beejapoor troops were dispersed in the careless ardour of pursuit, and falling upon them unexpectedly, completely changed the issue of the contest. No troops are so soon rallied as Mahrattas on the slightest turn of fortune in their favour. The fugitives became the pursuers; victory succeeded defeat, and Abdool Khureem was again compelled to retire with disgrace to Beejapoor.† In the division of Hussajee Mohitey, two officers greatly distinguished themselves; they were promoted in consequence, and their names, Suntajee Ghorepuray, and Dhunnajee Jadow, afterwards became renowned in the annals of Maharashtra. Sivajee greatly extolled the conduct of Hussajee Mohitey, and appointed him Surnobut, with the title of Humbeer Rao.‡ The services of Pertab Rao Goozur were not forgotten; Sivajee mourned his loss, made handsome provision for his relations and dependants, and mar-

* Mahratta MSS.

† Mahratta MSS., and Beejapoor MSS.

‡ As the reader is not yet familiar with the former name, I shall continue to use his title of Humbeer Rao, as that by which he is generally known in the Mahratta country.

ried his younger son, Raja Ram, to the daughter of the deceased. Pertab Rao's death was followed by that of Abajee Sonedeo; Sivajee had declared that no office should be hereditary in a family unfit for the employment; but Ramchundur Punt, the son of Abajee, being qualified to fill the vacant situation, he was appointed Muzzimdar.

The siege of Ponda continued until the setting-in of the monsoon, when it was raised. Sivajee had purchased a supply of artillery from the French at Surat; but he was not able to effect a breach. The whole of the horse, owing, it is supposed, to a scarcity above the Ghauts, cantoned this season at Chiploon.*

Sivajee, who had long struck coins, and styled himself Raja and Maha Raja, was, at this time, consulting many learned Bramins on the propriety of declaring his independence, assuming ensigns of royalty, and establishing an era from the day of his ascending the throne. A celebrated Shastree of Benarees, named Gaga Bhutt, who arrived at Raigurh, and of whose coming Sivajee pretended to have an intimation from Bhowanee, was appointed to conduct the inauguration. After many solemn rites, and every observance of the Shasters which could make the ceremony reverenced by Hindoos, Sivajee, at a propitious moment, was enthroned, at Raigurh, on the 6th June. About a fortnight after, on the death of his mother, Jeejee Bye, Sivajee was a second time placed on the throne, but the date of the abishik or era,

* Mahratta MSS.

commences from the 13th day of the moon's increase in Jesht or June, according to the previous installation. The first ceremony was partly witnessed by Mr. Henry Oxenden, who had been sent from Bombay on a mission to Sivajee, for the purpose of concluding the long-pending treaty. The preliminary articles were signed by a native agent on the 6th April. The treaty consisted of twenty articles, the substance of which the Mahrattas have preserved under four heads:—First, indemnification for the losses at Rajapoor, with permission to establish factories at Rajapoor, Dabul, Choule, and Kallian; and to trade all over Sivajee's territory, buying and selling at their own prices without being liable to the imposition of fixed rates. Second, they were only to pay an import duty of 2½ per cent. ad valorem. Third, coins were to pass reciprocally; and fourth, wrecks were to be restored. The mode of settling the indemnification, which was dictated by Sivajee, shows his idea of the principles of trade; but it is particularly characteristic of a Mahratta agreement, not only in its intricacy, but in the evasion of any direct money payment. Sivajee was to allow the English 10,000 pagodas: that is, the English agreed to purchase 5000 pagodas worth of goods from Sivajee, for three years, they paying him half the value, so that they would then recover 7,500 pagodas; and for the balance of 2,500 pagodas, he granted to the factory, when it should be re-established at Rajapoor, an exemption from customs until it amounted to an equivalent. It was with some difficulty that Sivajee was brought to consent

to those articles which regarded the wrecks and the coin. He observed, that the crews of ships should be assisted and protected; but the wrecks being long considered the inherent property of the king of the country, he could not relinquish the right; and that with respect to English coin it should always pass for its intrinsic value. Finally, however, he agreed* to all the articles, and Mr. Oxenden's embassy occasioned a more favourable impression towards the English on the part of Sivajee; but, though the factory at Rajapoor was re-established, it was never profitable, and it is doubtful if the English ever recovered what was settled by the treaty. Mr. Aungier's immediate successors had not the talents nor the weight of that able man, who died at Bombay in 1676.

On Sivajee's enthronement, the names of such offices as were expressed in Persian, were changed into Sanscrit, and some were designated by higher sounding titles. None of the new distinctions were preserved after Sivajee's death, except the eight ministers, or Asht Purdhans. Their duties continued the same as already explained, except that there was one commander-in-chief of the cavalry and infantry; and the Nyadeish was not administered by two persons. The names of the ministers and the old and new appellations of their offices were then as follow:

Name.	*Original Title.*	*New Title.*
1. Moro Punt Pingley.	Peishwa.	Mookh Purdhan.
2. Ramchundur Punt Boureekur.	Muzzimdar.	Punt Amat.

* Oxenden's Narrative, Mahratta MSS. and English records.

Name.	*Original Title.*	*New Title.*
3. Annajee Dutto.	Soornees.	Punt Suchew.
4. Duttajee Punt.	Wankunees.	Muntree.
5. Humbeer Rao Mohitey.	Surnobut.	Senaputtee.
6. Jenardin Punt Hunwuntay.	Dubeer.	Somunt.
7. Ballajee Punt.	Nyadeish.	Nyadeish.
8. Rugonath Punt.	Nyashastree.	Pundit Rao.

Sivajee, by being weighed against gold*, the amount of which was afterwards distributed to Bramins, and by performing numerous charities, as recommended by the rules of his religion, obtained a high rank amongst Rajpoots, from whom the Bramins could now pretend to prove his descent. The titles† he assumed were very lofty, and in future, on all public occasions, he imitated the grandeur and dignity of royalty.

Since the convention of Poorundhur, Sivajee had always pretended a right to the chouth of various parts of the Beejapoor territory, and of the whole of the Concan.‡ There is no mention of his having made this demand from the English; but he this year sent Moro Punt to Kallian, for the purpose of exacting it from the Portuguese at Bassein.§ It is not known by what means they evaded the payment; the Mahratta histories of Sivajee's life do not state that the Portuguese ever admitted the chouth; but frequent mention is made of their

* Dr. Fryer mentions that he weighed about 16,000 pagodas, which is equal to about ten stone.

† These were Kshittrya Koolavutumsa, Sree, Raja Siva, Chuttur Puttee, or the head ornament of the Kshittree race, his Majesty, the Raja Siva, possessor or lord of the royal umbrella.

‡ Mahratta MSS.

§ Orme. English records.

having paid tribute, and probably some compromise was made on the occasion alluded to.

A. D. 1675. Some aggressions on the part of the Moghul troops, headed by Dilere Khan, having furnished Sivajee with an excuse for breaking his compact with the viceroy, Moro Punt attacked and retook Oundha and Putta, and made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Sewneree, the birth place of Sivajee, which was never destined to fall into his hands. But the failure was compensated by the success of Humbeer Rao, the Senaputtee, who ascended one of the passes near Surat, divided his horse into several bodies, plundered the country to Burhanpoor, and from thence to Mahoor. One of his parties levied contributions in the Baroach district, being the first body of Mahrattas that ever crossed the Nerbuddah.

Sivajee himself laid siege to Ponda, after he had again possessed himself of all the Thannas between Panalla and Tattora; but as soon as he was occupied in the Concan, and had carried down all the infantry that could be spared, Nimbalkur and Ghatgay, the Deshmookhs of Phultun and Mullaoree, attacked the garrisons, drove out the Thannas, and recovered most of the open country for the king of Beejapoor. *

Humbeer Rao, after he had passed the Godavery on his route homewards, was very hotly pursued by Dilere Khan, and with difficulty brought off the valuable booty he had taken. A detachment of the Moghuls plundered the Kallian district, whilst

* Mahratta MSS.

Sivajee was still engaged besieging the fort of Ponda. A breach was at last effected by springing a mine, and the Killidar, after a very creditable defence surrendered. Upon this, Sivajee proceeded to the southward, levied contributions in the Concan, plundered many places, ascended the ghauts, penetrated into the Soonda country, and returned laden with spoils to Raigurh. *

At the opening of the season, Humbeer Rao again entered the Moghul territory, and did great mischief, whilst Khan Jehan Buhadur and Dilere Khan were engaged in another quarter.

Khowaus Khan, the regent of Beejapoor, finding his situation perilous, and having a greater regard for his own interests than the fulfilment of his trust, opened negotiations with Khan Jehan, agreed to hold Beejapoor as a dependant province of the empire, and to give Padshah Beebee, the young king's sister, in marriage to one of the sons of Aurungzebe.

When this proceeding became known, the nobles, at the head of whom was Abdool Khureem, entered into a conspiracy against Khowaus Khan; and he was assassinated by one Khureem Shirza engaged for the purpose. His death was not regretted, especially on account of his having agreed to give away the king's sister, in whom the people of Beejapoor took particular interest. The orders of Abdool Khureem, to prepare for defence, were obeyed with an alacrity unusual under the late regent and when Khan Jehan Buhadur advanced, as was

* Mahratta MSS.

expected, towards the Beejapoor frontier, Abdool Khureem marched to oppose him. Several actions were fought, which ended advantageously for the army of Beejapoor; and as Dilere Khan was favorably disposed towards his countryman Abdool Khureem, a truce, and afterwards an alliance, was concluded by the mediation of the former.*

A. D. 1676. Sivajee, for the third time, took possession of the open country between Tattora and Panalla; and in order to prevent future inroads by the Jagheerdars in his neighbourhood, he gave orders for connecting those places by building a chain of forts, which he named Wurdungurh, Booshengurh, Sewdasheogurh, and Muchhindergurh. Although of no great strength, they were judiciously chosen to support his intermediate posts, and to protect the highly productive tract within the frontier which they embrace. Whilst engaged in this arrangement, he was overtaken by a severe illness, the nature of which is unknown; but it confined him at Satara for several months. During this period he became extravagantly rigid in the observance of religious forms enjoined by his faith; but he was, at the same time, planning the most important expedition of his life.† The preliminary arrangements with other powers, the space over which his views extended, the combination of sagacity and enterprize, and the surprizing success of the undertaking are altogether so re-

* Beejapoor MSS. Mahratta MSS. Scott's Deccan.

† Mahratta MSS. Mr. Orme mentions this illness as having confined him at Raigurh.

markable, that, in order to be fully understood, some preliminary observations regarding the general state of the country, would be proper on this account alone, but a brief retrospect is also necessary as an introduction to the important events of the next thirty years.

CHAP. IX.

FROM A. D. 1676, TO A. D. 1680.

State of politics in the Deccan when Sivajee undertakes his expedition into the Carnatic. — How suggested — preliminary arrangements. — Sivajee departs. — Conference and alliance with Kootub Shah at Hyderabad — proceeds to the southward — extraordinary devotions. — Progress of the conquests. — Negotiations with Venkajee. — Golcondah is invaded by the Moghuls, and the army of Beejapoor — they are repulsed. — Death of Abdool Khureem. — Musaood Khan, by the influence of Dilere Khan, appointed regent. — Sivajee sets out on his return — takes Bellary, &c. — Venkajee attacks Sivajee's troops, and is defeated. — A body of Mahrattas in the service of Beejapoor defeated by Sivajee's troops. — Successes of Jenardin Punt, who by the aid of Hymbeer Rao reduces the Dooab. — Proceedings of Moro Punt. — Sultan Mauzum returns to Aurungabad as viceroy. — Dilere Khan again ordered against Beejapoor. — Musaood Khan calls in the aid of Sivajee, who commits dreadful devastation in the Moghul provinces. — plunders Jaulna — is attacked, and in danger of being worsted, when he retrieves the day by his personal exertions — is subsequently saved from great danger by one of his guides. — Twenty-seven forts taken. — Musaood Khan earnestly solicits further assistance. — Sumbhajee deserts to the Moghuls. — Dilere Khan's proposals. — Emperor's objections. — Sumbhajee returns to his father. — Dilere Khan raises the siege of Beejapoor — crosses the Kistna, with a body of horse, and is attacked and defeated by Jenardin Punt. — Sivajee's claims in consequence of the assistance afforded to Beejapoor. — Supremacy of Tanjore, &c. transferred to Sivajee. — Venkajee's independence affected by this arrangement — his behaviour in consequence. — Sivajee's excellent advice. — Sivajee's death and character — possessions and treasures. — The ministers influenced by Soyera Bye, propose setting Sumbhajee aside, and appointing Raja Ram to the succession. — Sumbhajee dis-

covers the plot — takes command of Panalla — displays considerable energy — seizes Jenardin Punt. — Moro Punt and Humbeer Rao join Sumbhajee. — The garrison of Raigurh and the army declare for him.

A.D. 1676. The emperor Aurungzebe, hitherto occupied in establishing his authority, regulating affairs, or suppressing revolt in the north, had never lost sight of his early and favourite scheme of annexing the whole Deccan to the empire; but whilst his own presence was required in other parts, he was too suspicious to intrust the conquest to any deputy. He was, therefore, persevering in a systematic plan, calculated, as he conceived, to weaken and undermine the powers in that quarter so effectually that, when he could spare sufficient leisure, he might, with an overwhelming force, sweep all before him, and find a country rather to settle than to subdue.

Khan Jehan Buhadur was not an officer competent to the task of reducing the Deccan; but even if he had been, the army under his command was quite insufficient for such a purpose. The weakness of the Moghuls, defeated as large detachments of them were by the Mahrattas, on more than one occasion, seemed likely to afford encouragement for a confederacy of the other powers against them; but in the divided state of affairs both at Beejapoor and Golcondah, principally maintained by his intrigues, Aurungzebe probably viewed it in a contrary light, as being less likely to rouse combination. His ambassadors were employed to create dissensions, not only by exciting jealousy between the Mahomedan

courts, but by bribing every man in power, and stirring up factions in the internal governments.

Although Sivajee's daring robberies and incursions excited the utmost indignation, he was still contemptible as a power in the eyes of Aurungzebe; and whilst so considered, his ravages, directed against Beejapoor or Golcondah, were favourable to the emperor's plan. In this view, we may, in some measure, account for the conduct of Khan Jehan, who, for a long time, enjoyed as much of Aurungzebe's confidence as any of his officers, although it must have been well known to the emperor that Sivajee frequently purchased his connivance or forbearance; for the fact was notorious in the European settlements.

With regard to Beejapoor and Golcondah, although the exertions of Abdool Khureem had obtained a temporary peace, he himself, as head of the faction which had destroyed Khowaus Khan, had nothing to hope from the Moghuls. His interests were completely those of the state; and had it not been for his connection with Dilere Khan, and the other Afghans of the Moghul army, it was far more natural for him to have become the ally of Sivajee than of Aurungzebe. The Moghul faction in Beejapoor were the regent's enemies; and the emperor, preserving the forms which the pacification required, sent there as his envoy, Mullik Berkhordar, a native of Kashmeer, on whose address he placed reliance, to draw over the nobility not yet of his party, and to perplex the regent by every apparent civility and every mischievous intrigue.

At Golcondah, the Moghul influence had long preponderated; the death, however, of Abdool Kootub Shah, in 1672, had not been attended with the advantages which Aurungzebe may have anticipated. The nearest heir, Abou Hussein, the son-in-law and successor of the late king, notorious for dissipated habits in his youth, was, on ascending the throne, completely reclaimed. Although a weak prince, he on some occasions, asserted the dignity of his high place; but he was under the influence of two brothers, Mahdhuna Punt and Akhana Punt; who, although reckoned men of ability, particularly the former, had all that disposition to refinement in intrigue, which constitutes a principal defect in Bramin statesmen. Aurungzebe's measures partake precisely of that character; and the result proves, not only the insignificance of the deepest cunning, but how much a homely maxim might serve as a lesson for kings. The emperor did not contemplate the whole effects of his system; and the treachery and corruption, encouraged or tolerated at this period, were a principal cause of irretrievable confusion in the latter part of his reign.

But without further anticipation, such, in regard to the different powers, is a general view of the state of the Deccan when Sivajee undertook his expedition into the Carnatic. It was first suggested by Rugonath Narrain Hunwuntay, whom we have already mentioned, as the successor of his father, Naroo Punt, in the management of Shahjee's Jagheer in the Carnatic. Rugonath Narrain, was a man of superior abilities, but after the death of his

patron, he disgusted Venkajee by his overbearing conduct; and on the other hand, the young man's interference in the direction of his own affairs, gave the minister great offence. Their mutual interests, however, suppressed their growing hatred for a long time; but after eleven or twelve years, Rugonath Narrain left the Carnatic, and proceeded to the court of Abou Hussein at Golcondah, where he formed an acquaintance with Mahdhuna Punt, and contrived to gain his confidence; but whether he took these steps, foreseeing the scheme to which he afterwards applied them, is uncertain. He came, however, to join Sivajee, by whom, as an old and distinguished servant of his father, and a brother of the Somunt Purdhan, he was received with great respect; and Ramchundur Punt, being the youngest of the ministers, Sivajee displaced him to make room for Rugonath Punt Hunwuntay, on whom he conferred the office of Amat Purdhan. The discussion of Sivajee's claim to share, according to Hindoo law, in half the possessions of Shahjee, and the possibility of making this a cloak for more extensive acquisitions in the south, was a constant subject of consultation during the rains, when Sivajee lay ill at Satara. *

The period was in every respect favourable to the undertaking, as the alliance between Beejapoor and the Moghuls, and particularly the connection between the regent and Dilere Khan, was a certain means of exciting the jealous apprehensions of Mahdhuna Punt: Dilere Khan had always shown him-

* Mahratta MSS.

self a determined enemy of Golcondah; and he was likewise known to entertain an equal degree of enmity towards Sivajee.

The first object effected was an agreement with Khan Jehan, by giving him a large sum of money, part, it would appear, publicly, and a part privately. That which was publicly received, was styled tribute by the Moghul; an appellation to which Sivajee reconciled himself, even at this stage of his independence, by comparing it to the oil-cake given to his milch cow. *

To secure his possessions, the frontier forts on the eastern side, which he had just completed, were well calculated to repel the inroads of Ghatgay and Nimbalkur; and in order to guard the coast against the attacks or descents of the Seedee, he left Annajee Dutto, the Punt Suchew, with strong garrisons and a large body of disposeable infantry. His forts between Kallian and Ponda were very numerous; and no place could be attacked without being speedily supported from various quarters. The particular care of this tract was thus made over to the Suchew, but he was directed to assist the Peishwa, Moro Punt, to whom Sivajee delegated the chief management during his absence; this division of power, however, created an unconquerable jealousy between these ministers.

At the close of the year 1676, Sivajee set out at the head of thirty thousand horse, and forty thousand infantry, towards Golcondah. Carefully abA.D. 1677. staining from plunder, his march was conducted with the greatest regularity. Prillhad

* Mahratta MSS.

Punt, the son of the Nyadeish Purdhan, was sent forward to announce his approach, which, although known to Mahdhuna Punt, occasioned astonishment and alarm at Hyderabad. Mahdhuna Punt came out some distance to meet Sivajee, and the day after his arrival at Golcondah, he had an interview with Kootub Shah, which lasted for several hours; many consultations followed, and Sivajee had the address to persuade the king, that an alliance between them was not only necessary but natural. *

No authentic record of the particulars of the secret compact which was entered into has been preserved by the Mahrattas; but the purport seems to have been, a division of such parts of Sivajee's conquests as had not belonged to his father, Shahjee, and a treaty offensive and defensive against the Moghuls and their allies. † With the usual burlesque advantages, which a power not consulted commonly obtains by such alliances of its neighbours, Beejapoor was to be admitted to all the benefits of this agreement, after its possessions in the Carnatic had been reduced and divided between Sivajee and Kootub Shah, on condition of dismissing Abdool Khureem from the regency, and receiving the brother of Mahdhuna Punt in his stead. ‡ What further inducement may have been held out, or whether the ambition or avarice of Mahdhuna Punt may have been more treacherously excited,

* One of the Mahratta MS. contains a curious dissertation tending to prove Golcondah the natural ally, and Beejapoor and the Moghuls, the natural enemies of Sivajee

† Mahratta MSS. Beejapoor MS.

‡ Beejapoor MSS.

cannot be discovered; but Sivajee suceeded in obtaining a considerable supply of money; and what he most wanted, a train of artillery with its equipments. It is probable that he dispensed with all other reinforcements; and the necessity of keeping the whole of the troops of Kootub Shah for the defence of the kingdom, was an opinion likely to arise of itself, without being suggested by Sivajee.

After a month spent at Hyderabad, Sivajee, having concluded his arrangements, marched due south, and crossed the Kistna at the Neorootey Sungum, twenty-five miles below Kurnoul, March. about the month of March. Whilst his troops advanced slowly by the route of Kuddapah, Sivajee, with a body of cavalry, struck off to the eastward for the purpose of visiting the temple of Purwuttum*, where he performed many penances. At last he was worked up into such a state of enthusiasm as to draw his sword for the purpose of sacrificing himself to the Deity, when it is pretended he was saved by the direct interposition of the goddess Bhowanee, by whose inspiration Sivajee, on this occasion, uttered one of his many prophecies; and whilst the Deity, through him, declared the necessity of his yet remaining to perform many great services for the Hindoo faith, she announced the splendid conquests that were to be immediately achieved in the Carnatic. †

After passing twelve days in this extravagant manner, Sivajee followed his army, which descended into the Carnatic Payeen Ghaut by the Damul-

* Called by the Mahrattas Sree Sheyl Mullik Arjoon.

† Mahratta MSS.

cherry * pass; and as he had a double object in view, he left the heavy part of his army to come on by easy stages, whilst he pushed on with the cavalry and a body of his Mawulees. He passed Madras in the first week of May †, and arriving in the neighbourhood of Ginjee, then belonging to Beejapoor, he obtained possession of it from the sons of Amber Khan, named Roop Khan, and Nazir Mohummud, according to a previous agreement through Rugonath Narrain. ‡ Ramajee Nulgay, one of his Mawulee commanders, was appointed Havildar of the place, and the same regulations as those established in his forts in Maharashtra, were now, at a distance of six hundred miles, commenced in Drawed; and Wittul Peeldeo Garoodkur, with the general care of the dependant districts, was directed, in like manner, to introduce his revenue system.

An officer of the Beejapoor government, named Sher Khan, in charge of the district of Trinamullee, made an effort to oppose Sivajee at the head of five thousand horse; but he was quickly surrounded, made prisoner, and his horses seized, according to the custom of Mahratta victors. Suntajee, the half brother of Sivajee, had joined him before this affair, and very soon showed that he inherited a portion of the family spirit and ability.

In the meantime, the remaining part of the army

* Colonel Wilks. The Mahratta manuscripts call the pass Winkutrumunguree, but I conclude it is the same.

† Wilks.

‡ I here follow my own MSS. although Colonel Wilks has adopted a different account.

which Sivajee had purposely left in the rear, had invested the strong fortress of Vellore. The siege was conducted by a Bramin, named Neerhurry Bullal. He erected his principal batteries on two adjacent hills, which he named Saujra and Gojura; and after a siege of some duration, the detail of which is very imperfectly given in the Mahratta manuscripts, the fort surrendered * about the latter end of September.

During the siege of Vellore, Sivajee had been endeavouring to effect his designs on Tanjore, and had induced his brother to meet him at Trivadey, for the purpose of discussing his claim to share in their father's property. Venkajee, apprized of his designs, would, in the first instance, have resisted by force; but the Naik of Madura, who had agreed to assist him, was detached from the alliance by the address of Rugonath Narrain, and Venkajee adopted the alternative of visiting his brother. Sivajee received him with many professions of regard; but he could not persuade him to give up half the property. Whilst the one urged his claim, the other obstinately denied it. Sivajee, at first thought of making him prisoner, and compelling him to give up the half of Tanjore, of the Jagheer districts, and of the money and jewels; but on further consideration, according to the words of his own letter, as Venkajee had come of his own accord to visit him, such a measure appeared to be "inconsistent with his own character as

* In the Beejapoor MSS. of Abou Hoossein Qazee, it is asserted that Abdoollah Khan, the governor, gave it up for a bribe of 50,000 pagodas.

a brother and a prince;" he therefore permitted him to return to Tanjore. To keep open the door of accommodation; though at the same time he had determined to seize upon the other districts, Sivajee sent messengers to Venkajee, to endeavour to prevail upon him to give up half of Tanjore, Arnee, one or two of the forts, and to make an equal division without any quarrel; desiring his brother to recollect that it was not mere territory he desired, of that he possessed and could bestow abundance, but his inheritance (*wutun*), he was bound in honor not to renounce.

After the interview at Trivadey, Sivajee came to Vellore, which had surrendered previous to his arrival. Carnaticgurh, and two other forts *, were reduced immediately after, and Vedo Bhaskur, a Bramin who had been in charge of Arnee since the time of Shahjee, brought the keys of the fort, and tendered his services to Sivajee, by whom he was confirmed in his command, and his two sons taken into the service. The Jagheer districts of Shahjee, consisting of Kolhar, Bangalore, Ouscotta, Balapoor, and Sera, were all taken possession of by Sivajee, before the beginning of the ensuing year; and his horse either levied contributions under the name of chouth and surdeshmookhee, or, where refused, plundered the whole Carnatic, subject to the kingdom of Beejapoor.

The truce, which Khan Jehan Buhadur had entered into with Sivajee, was not approved of by Aurungzebe; and Dilere Khan having submitted

* Called in the Mahratta MSS. Jugdeogurh and Maharajgurh.

a proposal for invading Golcondah, assisted by Abdool Khureem, and the troops of Beejapoor, on the plan suited to the emperor's system of exhausting the Deccan states, Khan Jehan was recalled, and Dilere Khan ordered to carry his proposals into effect.

The excuse for this combined attack on the part of Dilere Khan and Abdool Khureem, was the alliance which Kootub Shah had entered into with Sivajee. But Mahdhuna Punt had foreseen the coming storm; the invaders were met by an overwhelming force, and were soon compelled to retreat. The troops of Beejapoor had suffered great privation; numbers deserted in consequence, and those that remained were so disorderly and clamorous for want of pay, that it was impossible to lead them against the enemy. * To add to the general distress, Abdool Khureem was taken ill, and his life being despaired of, Dilere Khan attempted to reconcile the factions, and it was agreed, that, Musaood Khan, an Abyssinian, son-in-law of Seedee Johur, and Jagheerdar of Adonee †, should eventually succeed to the regency. Abdool Khureem died in January 1678, and Musaood Khan
A.D. 1678. was appointed his successor accordingly. His personal property was the principal motive for choosing Musaood Khan, especially as he promised to pay the debts of Dilere Khan, as well as the arrears due to the troops. ‡ He also

* Scott's Deccan.

† He obtained his wealth by the favor of Einayat Oolla, a rich man, and Jagheerdar of Adonee, who made him his heir.

‡ Beejapoor MS.

bound himself to fulfil the agreement made by Khowaus Khan, to preserve peace and order, to have no sort of communication with Sivajee, to abide by the advice of Dilere Khan on all occasions, and to send Padshah Beebee to the Moghul camp. Musaood Khan paid a part of the arrears due to the infantry; but after returning to Beejapoor, he would neither pay nor retain a great portion of the cavalry. Large bodies were let loose upon the country in consequence; some were entertained by Moro Punt in Sivajee's service, and others joined the Moghuls. * A gloomy discontent prevailed at Beejapoor; but on the regent's afterwards promising not to give the king's sister to the Moghuls, he acquired considerable popularity.

Dilere Khan, after the agreement with Musaood Khan was concluded, immediately marched towards Pairgaom; and Sivajee, on learning the state of affairs, began his march from the Carnatic. He appointed his half-brother Suntajee to the charge of Ginjee, and its dependancies, and associated him with Rugonath Narrain and Humbeer Rao Senaputtee, in the general management of his affairs in the Carnatic.

As Sivajee had given up no part of his late acquisitions, the king of Golcondah probably by this time perceived that he had been duped by him; but a friendly intercourse existed after Sivajee's return to Raigurh.

When Sivajee's troops arrived in the neighbour-

* Beejapoor MSS.

hood of Bellary, a few of his foragers were killed by some of the people belonging to the fort, which was then in possession of the widow of a Dessaye. As satisfaction was refused, the outrage furnished an excuse for attacking the place, which was invested and taken after a siege of twenty-seven days. Sivajee next besieged and took Kopaul. Buhadur Benda surrendered fifteen days afterwards, and the neighbouring country was immediately taken possession of. Jenardin Punt Somunt, one of the Purdhans, was left to settle the new acquisition. Sivajee continued his march, but on arriving at Toorgul, he halted; accounts having reached him of an attack made upon his troops in the Carnatic, by his brother Venkajee, who had been repulsed with considerable loss. Upon receipt of this intelligence, Sivajee addressed a long letter* to his brother, in which he recapitulated every thing that had occurred, represented the extreme indiscretion of a conduct, which had compelled him to take possession of the districts; and now, had obliged his officers to repel aggression by force of arms; that the slaughter of the vile Mahomedans, who had joined in the attack, was not to be regretted; but he ought to reflect on the sacrifice of valuable lives which it had occasioned. Sivajee, in this letter,

* The original of this and other three letters written by Sivajee to Venkajee, are in possession of the hereditary Chitnees, or Secretary, of his Highness the Raja of Satara. They were recovered by the grandfather of the present Chitnees, from a descendant of Rugonath Narrain Hunwuntay. I have had them examined, and I have compared them with the handwriting of Ballajee Aujee, Sivajee's Chitnees, and have every reason to believe them authentic.

dwells much on the necessity of union, and the propriety of peace; which last he now proposes to grant, on receiving the whole of their father's territorial possessions in the Carnatic, for which he promises, either to allow his brother an equivalent in the Panalla districts, or to obtain a grant of territory from his ally Kootub Shah in some other part of the country, equal to three lacks of pagodas annually.

Venkajee, on receipt of this letter, requested an interview with Rugonath Narrain; but the latter replied that he was now in the service of his majesty Sivajee, but should be happy to attend, upon receiving orders to that effect. This permission having been obtained, Rugonath Narrain brought about an accommodation. Venkajee agreed to pay down a considerable sum of money, to divide their father's jewels, and to share the revenue of the territory with his brother. On these conditions, Sivajee allowed him to retain Tanjore, and restored the Jagheer districts.

Whilst Sivajee remained near Toorgul, a body of horse, belonging to Ghatgay and Nimbalkur, appeared in the Panalla district, laid waste the country, and retired plundering towards Kurar. A detachment from Sivajee's army, under Neelajee Katkur overtook them at Koorlee, attacked and dispersed them; recovering much valuable property, which, as it belonged to his own subjects, Sivajee scrupulously restored.

Jenardin Punt being threatened by a body of horse belonging to Beejapoor, Sivajee sent back a part of his troops to reinforce him, whilst he

himself, attended by a small escort, reached Raigurh before the commencement of the south-west monsoon, after an absence of eighteen months.

Humbeer Rao, on the conclusion of the agreement with Venkajee, marched towards Maharashtra with all expedition, and Jenardin Punt, apprized of his approach, concerted a combined attack on the Beejapoor troops in the Dooab *; which completely succeeded: five hundred horses, five elephants, and the commander of the party were taken. The whole of the tract between the Toongbuddra and the Kistna was overrun, and the refractory Deshmookhs in the neighbourhood of Kopaul and Bellary, who had for some time refused all payments to the government of Beejapoor, were compelled to submit to the troops of Sivajee.† The reduced state of Beejapoor, its want of cavalry, and the swelling of the rivers from the rains, prevented Musaood Khan from making an effort to recover these valuable districts.

During Sivajee's absence, Moro Trimmul, the Peishwa, provided for the security of the territory with his usual activity and ability. The war with the Seedees, who were reinforced every season by the Moghul fleet from Surat, continued to be waged with rancorous enmity. Descents upon the Mahratta coast, actions with vessels on both sides, attempts to burn the Seedee's fleet, and a slow but lasting cannonade on Jinjeera, was the manner in

* The tract between the Kistna and the Toongbuddra is here meant.

† Original letter from Sivajee to Venkajee.

which the warfare was maintained.* The only event which it seems requisite to particularize, was the supercession of Seedee Sumbhole, by Seedee Kassim, in consequence of an order from the emperor. The title conferred on the new chief, who is admitted by the Mahrattas to have been an excellent officer, was Yakoot Khan, the same as that of his predecessor.

It was probably in consequence of the truce between the Moghuls and Beejapoor, that Moro Punt was induced to entertain numbers of the discharged cavalry of Beejapoor, being apprehensive that Dilere Khan meditated hostilities on his return to Pairgaom; but Aurungzebe was displeased with the adjustment which Dilere Khan had made, and informed him that he ought to have effected a more complete arrangement by providing for the nobility, paying the arrears of the troops, and taking the government under the imperial protection; he, therefore, commanded him to endeavour to amend his error whilst it was yet reparable, to pay the arrears of the cavalry, and to draw over as many of the officers as he could.† Sultan Mauzum was again appointed to the government of the Deccan; but the command of the army in the field remained with Dilere Khan. The Afghan party in Beejapoor were easily detached; but many of those

* All these affairs have been patiently and minutely detailed by Mr. Orme, and are interesting, because connected with the early history of one of our Indian Presidencies. Bombay was frequently involved in the broils of its neighbours, and sometimes exposed to the insolence of both parties.

† Beejapoor MSS. and Scott's Deccan.

who were violently factious, although averse to the existing authority, had still a greater dislike to the Moghuls. The envoy formally demanded Padshah Beebee as the only means of averting an immediate siege. Musaood Khan refused compliance. One of the factions, headed by Syud Mukhtoom, and instigated by Mullik Berkhordar, assembled in arms to enforce the request, at a time when the regent was unprepared; but a battle in the midst of the city, was prevented by the king's sister, who herself repaired to the spot, and declared her intention of proceeding to the Moghul camp; vainly but generously imagining that, by this sacrifice, her brother and his kingdom might be saved. * The Mahomedan inhabitants of Beejapoor, who yet remain, revert with fond garrulity to this anecdote, and to many traditionary legends of their last and favourite princess.

Padshah Beebee reached Dilere Khan's camp when the Moghuls were advancing to invest the city; a fit escort was furnished to conduct her to Aurungabad, but the Imperial army prosecuted its march. Musaood Khan, in this dilemma, sought assistance from Sivajee, who agreed to attack Dilere Khan, or effect a diversion in favour of the besieged. For this purpose Sivajee assembled a large body of cavalry at Panalla, and marched towards Beejapoor; but finding the besiegers strong, and not choosing to encounter the Patans, of whom a large portion of Dilere Khan's army was composed, he only made a show

A. D. 1679.

* Beejapoor MSS.

of attacking; advanced slowly until within twenty-four miles of the camp, when he turned off to the northward, rapidly crossed the Beema, and attacked the Moghul possessions, literally with fire and sword, leaving the inhabitants houseless, and the villages in ashes. Dilere Khan did not relinquish the siege, and Sivajee continued his depredations from the Beema to the Godavery. He crossed the latter river, attacked Jaulna, and, although Sultan Mauzum was at Aurungabad, plundered the town leisurely for three days, pointing out, as was his custom on such occasions, the particular houses and spots where money and valuables were secreted. Nothing escaped him, and no place was a sanctuary; the residence of the peers, or Mahomedan saints, which Sivajee had hitherto held sacred, were on this occasion pillaged.* The laden booty was a certain signal that Sivajee would take some route towards Raigurh, and a body of ten thousand horse having been collected, by the prince's orders, from various parts, under Runmust Khan, pursued, overtook, and attacked Sivajee near Sungumnere on his route to Putta. A part of his troops were thrown into confusion, owing principally to the impetuosity of Suntajee Ghorepuray; Seedojee Nimbalkur, an officer of distinction was killed†; but Sivajee led a desperate charge‡, and by great personal exertion retrieved

* Sivajee's death is said to have happened in consequence. Khafee Khan, who has adopted the story, is seldom so injudicious.

† Mahratta MSS.

‡ This part of the account is confirmed by Sivajee's letters to his brother, where he says, "it was a time proper to disregard life."

the day. The Moghul troops were broken, and he continued his route; but he had not proceeded far when we was again attacked by the Moghuls, who had been joined by a large reinforcement under Kishen Sing, one of the grandsons of Mirza Raja Jey Sing. This division cut him off from the pass to which he was marching, and Sivajee's army was unable to contend with such an accumulated force. But the superior intelligence of one of his Jasooses*, or guides, saved Sivajee in this emergency. He conducted him across the hills by a pass unknown to the Moghuls, by which he gained several hours' march in advance and safely reached Putta.† The Moghul troops returned to Aurungabad, and Sivajee judged the opportunity favourable for possessing himself of the whole of the forts near Putta, twenty-seven in number; for which purpose he ordered a body of infantry to join Moro Punt from the Concan, in order to reduce as many of them as possible; and a large detachment of cavalry was likewise placed at the Peishwa's disposal.

Sivajee remained at Putta until he received an express from Musaood Khan, entreating him to return southward, and make an effort to relieve the city: "that Dilere Khan had run his approaches

* Jasoos literally means, and is, professionally, a spy, but they are employed in all Deccan armies as guides, messengers, and letter carriers.

† Mahratta MSS. Sivajee himself takes no notice of this flight, but, by the mere name of Wisramgurh, or the place of rest, which he then gave the fort, there is circumstantial evidence of his having been hard pressed, when repose was so necessary.

close to the walls, and that nothing but prompt exertion could save them."* Sivajee again set off for Beejapoor, when news reached him that his son Sumbhajee had fled and joined Dilere Khan. He directed his army to pursue their route under Humbeer Rao, whilst he himself retired to Panalla to devise means of bringing back Sumbhajee.

The conduct of his eldest son had for some time been a source of grief and vexation to Sivajee; and in consequence of Sumbhajee's attempting to violate the person of the wife of a Bramin, his father, for a time, confined him in Panalla, and placed a strict watch over him after he was released. Sumbhajee, impatient under this control, took advantage of his father's absence, and deserted to Dilere Khan†, by whom he was received with great distinction.‡

Dilere Khan sent accounts of this event to the emperor, and proposed, as the Mahrattas were becoming so very powerful, to set up Sumbhajee at the head of a party, in opposition to his father, in order to divide their interests, and facilitate the capture of the forts. But this scheme, although it appeared to Dilere Khan similar to what was then carried on against Beejapoor and Golcondah, was disapproved by the emperor, as it would ultimately conduce to strengthen predatory power; and it is remarkable that this reason, than which none could be more just at that period, should be

* Original letter from Sivajee, who quotes the words of Musaood Khan.

† Mahratta MSS.

† Scott's Deccan.

recorded by a Mahratta biographer of Sivajee.* Although it rests on no other authority, we cannot but remark, that had such an opinion guided Aurungzebe's measures at an earlier period, and the view been a little more extended, so as to have preserved the other Mahomedan states from becoming first a prey, and then an accession of strength to the Mahrattas, the policy of this emperor might have met its meed of praise, with far more justice than we can discover in those eulogies which have been frequently bestowed upon it.

But before sufficient time had elapsed to obtain a reply from court, Dilere Khan, intent on his own scheme, took measures for carrying it into effect. He sent a detachment of his army from before Beejapoor, accompanied by Sumbhajee, as Raja of the Mahrattas, to lay siege to Bhopaulgurh, the extreme outpost of Sivajee's possessions to the eastward, which was taken.

Humbeer Rao, detached by Sivajee towards Beejapoor, fell in with eight or nine thousand cavalry, under Runmust Khan, the same officer lately sent by Sultan Mauzum against Sivajee; and he again sustained a severe defeat.

Moro Punt took Ahoont and Nahawagurh, both forts of great strength, dispersed his army all over Candeish, which was plundered and laid waste. Humbeer Rao hovered about the camp of Dilere Khan; whilst the besieged, encouraged by Musaood Khan, continued a most resolute defence. Dilere Khan pressed the siege, but personal ex-

* Kistnajee Anund Subhasud.

ertion could not avail when all supplies were cut off. He, at last, was compelled to abandon all hope of reducing the place; and at the end of the rains attacked the open country, plundered Hutnee, crossed the Kistna as soon as fordable, divided the troops, and was laying waste the Carnatic, when Jenardin Punt, with six thousand horse attacked the party commanded by Dilere Khan in person, completely defeated him, intercepted his parties, cut several of them to pieces, and compelled him to retreat.

By this time orders had arrived from the emperor recalling Sultan Mauzum, disapproving of Dilere Khan's measures, and reinstating Khan Jehan in command of the army, and in the government of the Deccan. Sumbhajee was ordered to be sent prisoner to Delhi; but Dilere Khan, who had permitted Sivajee's emissaries to have access to him, now connived at his escape; and, although Sivajee was reconciled to him, he confined him in the fort of Panalla until he should give proofs of amendment.

A.D. 1680. Sivajee, as the price of his alliance with Beejapoor, required the cession of the tract around Kopaul and Bellary; also, the cession of all claims to sovereignty on the conquered territory in Drawed, the principality of Tanjore, and the Jagheer districts of Shahjee. These conditions being complied with, Sivajee went to the neighbourhood of the city of Beejapoor, where he had an interview and a secret consultation with Musaood Khan.

The supremacy granted to Sivajee was considered

by Venkajee as a death-blow to his independence; he was already not only subjected to the interference of Rugonath Punt, but Sivajee, on pretence of assisting him with fit agents, took a large share of the management into his own hands. Venkajee, impatient of control, appears to have been so greatly mortified, that he resigned himself to melancholy, neglected his affairs, omitted even the usual care of his person, and the observances enjoined by his religion; he became careless and abstracted from all worldly affairs, and assumed the conduct rather of a devotee than of an active chief, such as he had hitherto shown himself. On this occasion Sivajee addressed a letter to him full of energy and good sense. This letter was amongst the last* that Sivajee ever dictated; he was taken

* As the letter alluded to, is neither very long nor prolix, which precludes the insertion of the others, a translation is subjoined as nearly literal as can be understood.

"*Sivajee to Venkajee.*"

After compliments. "Many days have elapsed without my receiving any letter from you; and in consequence, I am not in comfort. Ragoo Punt has now written, that you, having placed melancholy and gloom before yourself, do not take care of your person, or in any way attend to yourself as formerly; nor do you keep up any great days or religious festivals. Your troops are inactive, and you have no mind to employ yourself on state affairs. You have become a Byragee, and think of nothing but to sit in some place accounted holy, and let time wear away. In this manner, much has been written to me, and such an account of you has given me great concern. I am surprized, when I reflect, that you have our father's example before you—how did he encounter and surmount all difficulties, perform great actions, escape all dangers by his spirit and resolution, and acquire a renown which he maintained to the last?—All he

ill at Raigurh, occasioned by painful swelling in his knee-joint, which became gradually worse, and at last threw him into a high fever, which, on the seventh day from its commencement, terminated his existence, on the 5th day of April, 1680, in the 53d year of his age.

Such was the end of Sivajee. We have passed over some details in his warfare with the Seedees, which may require retrospective notice, and have

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did, is well known to you. You enjoyed his society, you had every opportunity of profiting by his wisdom and ability. Even I myself, as circumstances enabled me, have protected myself; and you also know, and have seen, how I have established a kingdom. Is it then for you, in the very midst of opportunity, to renounce all worldly affairs, and turn Byragee—to give up your affairs to persons who will devour your estate—to ruin your property, and injure your bodily health? What kind of wisdom is this, and what will it end in? I am to you as your head and protection; from me you have nothing to dread. Give up therefore all this, and do not become a Byragee. Throw off despondency, spend your days properly; attend to fasts, feasts, and customary usages, and attend to your personal comforts. Look to the employment of your people, the discipline of your army, and turn your attention to affairs of moment. Make your men do their duty; apply their services properly in your quarter, and gain fame and renown. What a comfort and happiness it will be to me to hear the praise and fame of my younger brother. Rugonath Pundit is near you, he is no stranger to you, consult him on what is most adviseable to be done, and he will consider you in the same light as myself. I have placed every confidence in him—do you the same; hold together for your mutual support, and you will acquire celebrity and fame. Above all things be not slothful; do not allow opportunity to slip past without receiving some returns from your army. This is the time for performing great actions. Old age is the season for turning Byragee. Arouse! bestir yourself. Let me see what you can do. Why should I write more, you are wise."

been drawn forward by a chain of more important events, until we have reached that point where we naturally pause, to look back on the life of any human being who has just ceased to be. Sivajee was, certainly, a most extraordinary person; and however justly many of his acts may be censured, his claim to high rank in the page of history must be admitted. To form an estimate of his character, let us consider him assembling and conducting a band of half-naked Mawulees through the wild tracts where he first established himself, unmindful of obstruction from the elements, turning the most inclement seasons to advantage, and inspiring the minds of such followers with undaunted enthusiasm. Let us also observe, the singular plans of policy he commenced, and which we must admit, to have been altogether novel and most fit for acquiring power at such a period. Let us examine his internal regulations, the great progress he made in arranging every department in the midst of almost perpetual warfare, and his successful stratagems for escaping or extricating himself from difficulty; and whether planning the capture of a fort, or the conquest of a distant country; heading an attack or conducting a retreat; regulating the discipline to be observed amongst a hundred horse, or laying down arrangements for governing a country; we view his talents with admiration, and his genius with wonder. For a popular leader his frugality was a remarkable feature in his character; and the richest plunder never made him deviate from the rules he had laid down for its appropriation.

Sivajee was patient and deliberate in his plans, ardent, resolute, and persevering in their execution; but, even in viewing the favourable side, duplicity and meanness are so much intermixed with his schemes, and so conspicuous in his actions, that the offensive parts of a worse character might be passed over with less disgust. Superstition, cruelty, and treachery are not only justly alleged against him, but he always preferred deceit to open force when both were in his power. But to sum up all, let us contrast his craft, pliancy, and humility with his boldness, firmness, and ambition; his power of inspiring enthusiasm while he showed the coolest attention to his own interests; the dash of a partizan adventurer, with the order and economy of a statesman; and, lastly, the wisdom of his plans which raised the despised Hindoos to sovereignty, and brought about their own accomplishment, when the hand that had framed them was low in the dust.

Sivajee's admirers among his own nation speak of him as an incarnation of the Deity, setting an example of wisdom, fortitude, and piety. Mahrattas, in general, consider that necessity authorises a murder, and that political assassination is often wise and proper. They admit that Sivajee authorized the death of Chunder Rao, the Raja of Jowlee; but few of them acknowledge that Afzool Khan was murdered. The vulgar opinion is, that the Khan was the aggressor; and the event is spoken of rather as a commendable exploit than a detestable and treacherous assassination.

From what can be learned of Sivajee in domestic

life, his manners were remarkably pleasing, and his address winning; he was apparently frank, but seldom familiar; passionate in his disposition, but kind to his dependants and relations. He was a man of small stature, and of an active rather than strong make; his countenance was handsome and intelligent; he had very long arms in proportion to his size, which is reckoned a beauty among Mahrattas.* The sword† which he constantly used, and which he named after the goddess Bhowanee, is still preserved by the Raja of Satara with the utmost veneration, and has all the honours of an idol paid to it.

* Mahratta MSS., and tradition among his descendants, and the descendants of his ministers and domestics.

In the Ali Namu, Nusserut satirizes the big feet and long arms of the Mahrattas. There is no likeness of Sivajee preserved ether at Kolapoor or Satara; and none of the Europeans who saw him, have recorded any description of his person. His body was burnt at Raigurh, where there was a tomb erected over the collected ashes. There is a building in the fort of Malwan, which is considered as his cenotaph. The origin of this building, however, is as old as the fort when first erected by Sivajee, who placed *Poojarees* or persons to observe certain forms of worship, during which, "the sea should not encroach on the walls, nor should an enemy prevail." Sumbhajee made some additions to this establishment; and Raja Ram, after the fall of Raigurh made it the cenotaph, or rather the place of comemmoration of Sivajee. The Bramins in charge, still enjoy the advantages of the original endowment, and have made several additions, with a view of imposing on the credulity of the vulgar, who repair with offerings to the shrine. They have an effigy, and the *real* sword of Sivajee, whose body, by their account, lies buried there.

† Sivajee's sword is an excellent Genoa blade of the first water. Its whole history is recorded by the hereditary historian of the family.

Sivajee, at the time of his death, was in possession of the whole of that part of the Concan extending from Gundavee to Ponda; with the exceptions of Goa, lower Choule, Salsette, and Bassein, belonging to the Portuguese; Jinjeera in possession of the Abyssinians; and the English settlement on the island of Bombay. He had Thannas in Carwar, Ankola, and several places on the coast, where he shared the districts with the Deshmookhs. The chief of Soonda acknowledged his authority; and the Rana of Bednore paid him an annual tribute. Exclusive of his possessions around Bellary and Kopaul, his conquests in Drawed, his supremacy as well as share in Tanjore, and the Jagheer districts of his father in the Carnatic, Sivajee occupied that tract of Maharashtra from the Hurnkassee river on the south, to the Indoorance river on the north, between Poona and Joonere. The districts of Sopa, Baramuttee, and Indapoor, were occasionally held, and always claimed by him as his paternal Jagheer; and the line of forts, built from Tattora to Panalla, distinctly mark the boundary of his consolidated territory to the eastward. He, however, had a number of detached places. Singnapoor, at the temple of Mahdeo, was his hereditary Enam village*, the fort of Parneira, near Damaun, was rebuilt by Moro Trimmul; and his garrisons and thannas occupied a great part of Buglana, and several strong places in Candeish and Sungumnere. His personal wealth was immense; and making

* Given by one of the Ghatgays, to his father Shahjee.

large allowance for exaggeration in the Mahratta manuscripts, he had, without doubt, several millions in specie* at Raigurh.

The territory and treasures, however, which Sivajee acquired, were not so formidable to the Mahomedans as the example he had set, the system and habits he introduced, and the spirit he had infused into a large proportion of the Mahratta people.

None of his successors inherited his genius, but the rise and fall of empires depend on such an infinite variety of circumstances, that those instruments which often appear to human foresight the least likely to produce a particular end, are the very means by which it is accomplished.

Sivajee had four wives, Suhyee Bye, of the family of Nimbalkur; Soyera Bye, of the Sirkay family; Pootla Bye, of the family of Mohitey; and a fourth wife, whose name and family are unknown. Of these, two survived him, Soyera Bye, and Pootla Bye; the latter immolated herself, but was burnt some weeks after her husband's corpse, owing to the secrecy which was observed respecting his death.

Suhyee Bye, the mother of Sumbhajee, died in 1659, two years after his birth; Soyera Bye was the mother of Raja Ram, and being an artful woman, not only had great influence with her hus-

* Sivajee's treasury, besides rupees, contained as might have been expected, coins of all descriptions; Spanish dollars, Venetian sequins, gold mohurs of Hindoostan and Surat, and pagodas of the Carnatic, are all enumerated in the lists, with many others. Ingots of gold and silver, cloth of gold, &c. &c. &c.

band, but a considerable ascendancy over several of the principal ministers, especially Annajee Dutto, the Punt Suchew. Sivajee, during the last days of his life, had expressed to Moro Punt, Annajee Dutto, and others, that in the event of his death, much evil was to be apprehended from the misconduct of Sumbhajee; and these words were interpreted by Soyera Bye and her faction, as a will in favour of Raja Ram, then a boy of ten years old. Moro Trimmul Peishwa, although Annajee Dutto had always been his rival, was at first drawn into a plan of administering the government under a regency in the name of Raja Ram. The other Purdhans likewise acquiesced in the arrangement, and measures were immediately taken to carry it into effect.

Sivajee's death was to be kept a profound secret until Sumbhajee's confinement should be rendered perfectly secure. The funeral obsequies were performed privately by Shahjee Bhonslay, a relation of the family. A force under Jenardin Punt Somunt, whom we have seen so active in the Carnatic, was directed to march to Panalla; the garrison of Raigurh was strengthened; ten thousand horse were stationed at the neighbouring village of Panchwur; and Humbeer Rao, the Senaputtee, was ordered with a large army to take up a position at Kurar. As some time was necessary for any of these movements, letters were dispatched to Heerajee Furzund, in charge of Sumbhajee at Panalla, to apprise him of what was going forward. But Sumbhajee had either been informed of the event, or suspected his father's death, for on the appear-

ance of the messenger with the letters, he seized and threatened him with instant death if he did not give up the packet. Its delivery discovered the whole. Heerajee Furzund fled into the Concan; Sumbhajee took command of the fort, and was obeyed by the garrison; but he immediately put two of the principal officers to death. Not knowing whom to trust beyond the walls of the fort, he made preparations for defending it, and resolved to await events. Jenardin Punt, finding the place in Sumbhajee's possession, sat down to blockade it, and after some weeks was content to leave his guards at their posts, whilst he took up his abode in the town of Kolapoor.

Raja Ram was placed on the throne in May, and the ministers began the conduct of affairs in his name; but as latent rivalry is easily excited, the Peishwa and the Suchew soon became jealous of each other.

Sumbhajee, in the mean time, having gained over a part of Jenardin Punt's troops, took a chosen band of his Mawulee garrison, proceeded through the Punt's lines in the night, seized him in the town of Kolapoor, and carried him back to Panalla a prisoner. Humbeer Rao Mohitey, delighted by this exploit, so worthy of the son of Sivajee, became immediately inclined to Sumbhajee's cause; and Moro Punt, who had set out from Raigurh on the news of Jenardin Punt's disaster, instead of exerting himself for the cabal, offered his services to Sumbhajee, by whom he was confirmed as Peishwa, but never succeeded in gaining his confidence. Humbeer Rao advanced and paid

his respects, when Sumbhajee immediately quitted Panalla, and proceeded towards Raigurh. Before his arrival the garrison had risen in his favour, and confined such as would have opposed his authority. The army at Panchwur came over to him in a body, and Sumbhajee entered Raigurh in the end of June, 1680.

CHAP. X.

FROM A. D. 1680, TO A. D. 1689.

Cruelties exercised by Sumbhajee on assuming power — execution of Soyera Bye. — Inauspicious commencement of his reign — Unavailing attempts to drive the Seedee from the island of Kenery. — Sultan Mohummud Akber seeks an asylum in Sumbhajee's territory. — Plot in favour of Raja Ram — Executions. — Execution of Annajee Dutto. — Moro Punt imprisoned. — Rugonath Narrain Hunwuntay — his spirited remonstrances, and their consequences. — Sumbhajee attacks Jinjeera. — Moghuls make an incursion into the Concan, and are compelled to retreat. — Assault on Jinjeera repulsed — seige raised. — Sumbhajee attacks the Portuguese — endeavours to conciliate the English. — Portuguese besiege Ponda, and are compelled to retreat with heavy loss. — Kuloosha the prime minister of Sumbhajee. — Decay in the institutions of Sivajee. — State of the army — lands over assessed. — Approach of Aurungzebe. — Survey of the state of the Deccan, from the first year after Sumbhajee's accession, up to the fall of Beejapoor and Golcondah. — Extraordinary revolution amongst the English at Bombay. — Aurungzebe's operations. — Salheir is surrendered. — Sultan Mauzum is sent to attack Sumbhajee in the Concan. — Imposition of the Jizeea — reflections. — Death of Dilere Khan. — Aurungzebe arrives at Ahmednugur — description of his camp. — Operations of Sultan Mauzum, Humbeer Rao, and Khan Jehan. — Distress of Sultan Mauzum's army — returns extremely reduced — operations. — Mahrattas plunder Baroach, and proclaim Mohummud Akber emperor. — Operations against Beejapoor and Golcondah. — Murder of Mahdhuna Punt. — Truce with Golcondah. — Siege and capture of Beejapoor — description of the present state of its ruins. — Fall of Golcondah. — Arrangements in the conquered districts. — Mode in which the Moghuls took possession of, and regulated a district. — Operations of the Mahrattas. — Humbeer Rao defeats Shirzee Khan, but falls in the battle. — Oper-

utions in the Carnatic. — Profligacy and imbecility of Sumbhajee. — Sultan Mohummud Akber quits him in disgust. — Remarkable consequences of the laxity of discipline in Sumbhajee's army. — State of the Hindoo population in Mahrashtra — Impolicy of Aurungzebe. — Remarks on the state of the country, extending, by anticipation, to a period of twelve years after the subversion of the Deccan kingdoms. — Operations of the Emperor. — Piracies of the English. — Sumbhajee surprised and made prisoner, together with his minister — behaviour — execution. — Summary of his character.

A. D. 1680. SUMBHAJEE's conduct from the time of his father's death until he entered his capital, discovered a vigour and method the more satisfactory from being unexpected; and had he taken advantage of the general submission, and published a declaration of amnesty, the address and energy he had shown would have suppressed all recollection of his early faults; but the barbarity of his disposition was displayed from the moment he passed the gate of Raigurh. Annajee Dutto was put in irons, thrown into prison, and his property confiscated. Raja Ram was also confined; Soyera Bye was seized, and when brought before Sumbhajee, he insulted her in the grossest manner, accused her of having poisoned Sivajee, loaded her with every epithet of abuse, and ordered her to be put to a cruel and lingering death. The Mahratta officers attached to her cause were beheaded; and one, particularly obnoxious, was precipitated from the top of the rock of Raigurh. This severity, justly deemed unnecessary and cruel, besides causing an inveterate enmity in the minds of Soyera Bye's relations, was considered a most inauspicious commencement, and on the occasion of his being seated

on the throne, in the early part of August, many unfavourable auguries were reported in the country. *

The armistice which Sivajee effected with the Moghul viceroy, Khan Jehan Buhadur, when quitting his own territory on the Carnatic expedition, produced no compromise with the Abyssinians of Jinjeera; a petty warfare was constantly maintained in the Concan between the Seedee and the Mahrattas; but hostilites became more rancorous after the accession of Sumbhajee.

The island or rock of Henery, near the entrance of the harbour of Bombay, was fortified by Sivajee, in 1679, which being resented by the English, an attempt by them, in conjunction with the Seedee, was unsuccessfully made to dispossess him of it; but Kenery, another island of the same description, which stands by the side of Henery, having been in the same surreptitious manner occupied by the Seedee during the ensuing season, Sumbhajee's first efforts were spent in endeavouring to drive out the Seedee, and with no better success than had attended the attempt on Kenery. The English as little relished the occupation by the one party as by the other. †

A. D. 1681. Sumbhajee, whilst his fleet and troops were thus employed, proceeded to Panalla, for what purpose is not clearly ascertained, though, perhaps, it may have been to conduct some negotiations with the Beejapoor government. He remained there until recalled to Raigurh by the appearance of an illustrious fugitive who sought an

* Mahratta MSS.

† Orme. Mahratta MSS. English Records.

asylum in his territory. This personage was Sultan Mohummud Akber, the fourth son of the Emperor Aurungzebe, who, having been won over by the Rajpoots, consented to head a rebellion against his father, but the scheme was frustrated by the emperor's address, and the prince fled towards Sumbhajee's country, which he was fortunate enough to reach, though he was hotly pursued, and the strictest orders issued, to all the imperial officers of the districts in his route, to intercept him. *

Sumbhajee sent an officer to welcome his arrival, appointed the village of Dodsay for his residence, the name of which, in compliment to his guest, was changed to Padshapoor; but some affair, of which Mahratta manuscripts take no notice, detained him at Panalla, and prevented his visiting the prince on his first arrival. In the meantime the restless faction of Annajee Dutto, in order to forward their own views, and procure his enlargement, took advantage of Sumbhajee's absence to propose some overtures to sultan Mohummud Akber, in favour of Raja Ram. The news of this fresh conspiracy was first communicated to Sumbhajee by Dadajee Rugonath Deshpandya of Mhar, and excited suspicions towards his guest, until the prince himself communicated the circumstances, which entirely dispelled his doubts; and Sumbhajee visited and welcomed him with much cordiality.

The intrigue on the part of the friends of Anajee Dutto, was said to have been supported by

* Orme. Scott's Deccan. Khafee Khan. Mahratta MSS., and copy of an original letter from Mohummud Akber, to Sumbhajee.

the whole of the Sirkay family in the Concan, whose motive was revenge for the death of Soyera Bye. Ballajee Aujee Chitnees, a man of the Purbhoo cast who had stood high in Sivajee's favour *, and had been employed by Sumbhajee himself, on a confidential mission to Bombay, was accused of being a principal instigator in the meditated treachery. This person, together with his eldest son, one of his relations named Samjee Aujee, Heerajee Furzund, such of the Sirkays as could be apprehended, and lastly Annajee Dutto himself, were at once led out to execution, tied to the feet of elephants, and trampled to death. The principal members of the Sirkay family fled in consternation, and several of them entered the Moghul service. Sumbhajee's severity, even if just towards Ballajee Aujee, which is doubtful, was extremely impolitic in regard to Annajee Dutto. To put a Bramin to death is always looked upon with horror, and the fate of the gallant Punt Suchew, who had performed such important services during the rise of Sivajee, was viewed, by every one capable of appreciating his worth, as a violent and harsh measure, calculated rather to create fear and dissension, than to insure obedience and unanimity.

Of this number was Moro Punt Pingley, Peishwa, who, as his jealousy was extinct in his rival's death, did not fail to inveigh with honest boldness,

* By an original Sunnud, it appears that Sivajee had offered to make him one of the Purdhans, which he declined accepting. The reader will recognise, in Ballajee Aujee, the person in whose hand-writing many of those papers are preserved, to which this history is much indebted.

against the impiety and impolicy of his execution. A Kanoja Bramin from Hindostan, named Kuloosha, who had by some means insinuated himself into Sumbhajee's favour, and who was the secret adviser of his actions, recommended the imprisonment of Moro Punt. The Peishwa was accordingly thrown into confinement, and Sumbhajee with the aid of this inexperienced man, equally presumptuous with himself, undertook the conduct of all state affairs.

Ramdass Swamy, the friend and spiritual director of Sivajee, whose life and conduct seem to have merited the universal encomims of his countrymen, a few days previous to his death, wrote Sumbhajee an excellent and judicious letter, advising him for the future rather than upbraiding him for the past, and pointing out the example of his father, yet carefully abstaining from personal comparison.

About the same time Rugonath Narrain Hunwuntay undertook a journey from the Carnatic, having left Hurjee Raja Mahareek in charge of the government during his absence. On his arrival at Raigurh, as he brought with him a considerable treasure, the balance saved from the revenue of the districts, he was well received, and as was due to one of the Purdhans, and so distinguished an officer, a full durbar was assembled on the occasion. Rugonath Narrain took this unusual opportunity * of entering on public affairs, and represented all the evils likely to result from the disregard shown to experienced servants, and to the forms of government instituted by Sivajee; he pointed out

* State affairs are seldom discussed in full durbar, and no business is entered upon at a first visit.

what ought to be done, and whilst maintaining his arguments, boldly censured Sumbhajee's proceedings, and predicted his fall.

It would seem difficult to account for the temerity of Rugonath Narrain, especially as his brother Jenardin Punt was still in confinement; but Sumbhajee was probably sensible that any violence towards Rugonath Narrain, might at once place the Carnatic at his uncle's disposal; and it is remarkable, that decided language from a man whom he respects, generally overawes the most ungovernable Mahratta. Sumbhajee promised to release Moro Punt and Jenardin Punt, and Rugonath Punt himself was civilly dismissed to his government. He died, however, before he reached Ginjee, and Sumbhajee not only fulfilled his promise of realeasing Moro Punt and Jenardin Punt, but advanced the latter to the rank of Amat, vacant by his brother's death, confirmed Hurjee Raja in the government of the Carnatic, and Neeloo Punt Moreishwur the son of Moro Punt, Peishwa, was appointed under him as Mootaliq or chief agent of affairs. But this amendment was but temporary, and the favourite Kuloosha obtained a complete ascendancy over his mind.*

On the occasion of Sumbhajee's meeting with Prince Akber, it was rumoured abroad that the Mahrattas and Rajpoots were about to unite for the purpose of dethroning Aurungzebe, and placing Sultan Akber on the throne.† But vanity and anger are more active stimulants to common minds

* Mahratta MSS. † Orme.

than ambition or glory; no speculation of that kind diverted Sumbhajee from the more humble design of reducing Jinjeera; to possess himself of a place which his father had failed in taking, to avenge the pillage of several of his villages, and the daily insults experienced from the Seedee, were the causes which combined to make this an object of paramount interest.

He in the first place directed Khundoojee Furzund, one of his creatures, to desert to Jinjeera, and endeavour, by corrupting some of the Seedee's people, to blow up the magazine when the attack was about to commence. A large body of troops were assembled, and the command of the expedition given to Dadajee Rugonath Deshpandya, with the promise, in case of success, of being made one of the eight Purdhans. *

The plot of Khundoojee Furzund was discovered by means of a female slave, before the attack commenced, and he, with many of his accomplices, were put death. †

A.D. 1682. Sumbhajee, accompained by Sultan Akber, proceeded to Dhunda Rajepoor for the purpose of stimulating the exertions of his troops. He proposed filling up the channel by an immense mound of earth and stones, and thus advancing to the assault. The work was actually in progress, when he was suddenly called upon to oppose a body of Moghul horse under the command of Hoossein Ali Khan, which advanced from Ahmednugur, by the route of Joonere, descended the

* Mahratta MSS. † Mahratta MS.

Ghauts, and ravaged the Kallian district north of Panwell. Sumbhajee attacked them in front, prevented their penetrating to the southward, and having stopped their supplies on all sides, the Moghul general retired before the rains.

The siege of Jinjeera was continued by Dadajee Rugonath, and in the month of August, the defences having been battered down, an assault was attempted by means of boats, but the slippery rock and beating of the surf, prevented the assailants from keeping their footing. They were repulsed with the loss of two hundred men, and the attempt on the island was abandoned. *

After the siege was raised, and the besieging army withdrawn, the Seedees made constant inroads, destroying cows, carrying off the women, and burning the villages. They even penetrated to Mhar, and seized the wife of Dadajee Rugonath, the officer so lately employed against them. †

These insults greatly enraged Sumbhajee; he threatened to punish the English and Portuguese for maintaining a neutrality towards Jinjeera, and during the remainder of the monsoon he made preparations for an attack on the Seedee's fleet. In the month of October, the principal commanders of his armed vessels, sailed out of the Nagotna river in quest of the Seedee, whose fleet was at anchor off Mazagon, in Bombay harbour. On perceiving the approach of the Mahrattas, the Seedee immediately got under weigh, and stood up towards the Tannah river, when having chosen his

* Mahratta MSS. Orme. † Mahratta MSS.

position he lay to and waited for the Mahrattas. Seedee Missree, the relation of Seedee Sumbhole, who had deserted to Sumbhajee, led the attack, and was well supported by the other officers. But Yakoot Khan in person commanded the Jinjeera fleet; and although he had only fifteen vessels to twice that number of Sumbhajee's which attacked him, he gained a complete victory. Seedee Missree was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner in his own vessel, which, with three others, was captured by the Seedee. * Some of the Mahratta fleet were sunk, defending themselves to the last.†

Sumbhajee, exasperated by this defeat, began to carry his threats against the Europeans into effect; he commenced with the Portuguese, by plundering some of their villages, and was preparing to fortify the island of Elephanta in Bombay harbour, for the purpose of annoying the English, and preventing the Seedee's vessels from anchoring at Mazagon during the monsoon; but he was diverted from this latter scheme, and suddenly resolved on endeavouring to form an alliance with the English against the Moghuls and the Seedee. His inducement to this plan, was intelligence of great preparations on the part of Aurungzebe, and the arrival at Aurungabad of Sultan Mauzum; whom the emperor had sent forward, appointed for the fourth time, to the government of the four Soobehs of the Deccan.

According to his projected change of politics, Sumbhajee sent an ambassador to Bombay, who

* Orme and Mahratta MSS. † Mahratta MS.

pretended to inform the council of a scheme which the Moghuls had laid for reducing the island, and proposed an alliance against them and the Seedees. The council listened to these overtures, with a view of procuring an exemption from certain duties which were levied by Sumbhajee's officers, on the trade of the factories on the Coromandel coast; but although the negotiation was protracted to some length, neither party at this time obtained their desire.*

A. D. 1683. Sumbhajee was again called to repel an inroad into the Concan, by a detachment under Runmust Khan, supported by another Moghul officer, named Roh Oolah Khan, whom the prince had detached against him. These troops advanced to KallianBheemree, ravaged the country, as had been done the preceding season, but returned to Ahmednugur before the rains, without having effected any thing worthy of notice.†

In prosecution of the war against the Portuguese, Sumbhajee attacked Choule in the month of June, but he could make no impression on a regular European fortification. The viceroy of Goa did not confine his operations to defensive warfare. He took the field in the month of October, and invaded Sumbhajee's territory with a considerable army, twelve hundred of whom were Europeans. The Portuguese in their warfare exhibited greater barbarity than Mahratta free-booters. They not only carried fire and sword into the defenceless

* Orme.

† Mahratta MSS. Orme. Scott's Deccan.

villages, but destroyed the temples, and attempted to convert their prisoners by force. *

The viceroy neglected no means of hostility, he had anticipated Sumbhajee's intention of fortifying the island of Aujee Dewa, and now gave orders to some armed vessels stationed there, to cruize against Sumbhajee's fleet, and distress the trade of Carwar. The viceroy advanced in person with the army, and laid siege to Ponda. Sumbhajee, who possessed all the ardent bravery of his father, though without his prudence or his talents, immediately marched at the head of an inconsiderable force to raise the siege, and on coming in sight of Ponda, although his numbers were inferior to the Portuguese, he commenced an attack on their rear.

The fort was at this time breached, and might have been stormed, but the viceroy with the ideas of a European, unused to Indian warfare, alarmed lest his retreat should be cut off, and Goa exposed to danger, immediately resolved on retiring. He effected his retreat; but at the expense of the whole of his camp equipage, stores, guns, and equipments: twelve hundred of his men were slain, of whom two hundred were Europeans.

On arriving at the back water which separates the island of Goa or Pangin from the main land, Sumbhajee, who had headed repeated charges, again led on the horse, intending to have dashed across with the fugitives, but the Portuguese, from

* Orme says, they were burnt by the Inquisition; but although many barbarities are alleged against the Portuguese, by the Mahrattas, they no where assert this.

a better knowledge of the ford, and from having stationed boats, and lined the opposite banks with troops, repulsed the attempt. Sumbhajee rallied his men, and again tried to ford, but although he headed the troops himself, and persevered until his horse was swimming, he was at last obliged to desist, owing to the flood-tide. *

Sumbhajee on this occasion particularly signalized himself, and Bhowanee, the sword of his father, which he used, could not have been better wielded; but with his usual obstinacy, he persisted in his rash design of crossing over into the island, and ordered boats to be brought for the purpose. Two hundred of his men were embarked and transported, when the Portuguese boats coming round, intercepted the return of the Mahrattas, and the enraged and defeated troops of the viceroy fell upon the two hundred men thus exposed to their fury, and destroyed most of them. †

The siege of Choule was continued without success; but Caranja was taken possession of, and retained for nearly a year. Several places belonging to the Portuguese, between Bassein and Damaun, were attacked and destroyed, and the viceroy made overtures for peace, but as Sumbhajee demanded five crores of pagodas as a preliminary, they were at once broken off.

The Mahratta horse, a part only of which were required on these services in the Concan, were as usual let loose to plunder, and subsist in the upper country during the fair season, and this year they

* Mahratta MSS. † Orme.

were fruitlessly pursued by a force from Aurungabad. *

To follow them in all cases, or to trace their incursions with precision from about the period at which we have arrived, is scarcely possible. Nor is it necessary. If we can account for the growth of their predatory power amidst the general warfare and confusion throughout the Deccan, and connect the principal incidents by which their empire was extended, it is all that can prove interesting or instructive in their history.

From the time of Moro Punt's confinement, Kuloosha was entrusted with the entire management of public affairs; nor did the partial enlargement of the Peishwa, for the short time he afterwards lived, produce in this respect any change. Sumbhajee, when not actually employed in the field, gave himself up to idleness or to vice; none could have access but Kuloosha, and if any one ventured to approach without the favourite's permission, Sumbhajee flew into a passion, and punished the intruder. Kuloosha, as possessing a religious character, could not consistently be admitted to any other rank among the Purdhans, than that of Pundit Rao; in addition to that honor, he was dignified with the title of Chundagau-Matya Kuvee-Kulus. † Although in the Mahratta manuscripts, Kuloosha

* Mahratta MSS. Scott's Deccan.

† Which may be rendered into English, "Expounder of the Vedas, and illustrious poet." It is from the second title Kuvee Kulus, that he derived his name Kub Kulus, or occasionally Kablis Kawn, amongst Mahomedans and Europeans, and his nick-name of Kubjee amongst the Mahratta soldiery.

is loaded with many epithets of abuse, he is seldom accused of having been the pander of Sumbhajee's vices; it is even admitted that he was a learned and courtly man, and that he excelled in poetry, but his total incapacity for his high station, and the ruinous consequences, both of his neglect and his measures, may be very clearly gleaned from the Mahratta writings: in these, the ascendancy gained over the mind of Sumbhajee, is ascribed to magic, in which Kuloosha is believed to have been a perfect adept.

The system, which Sivajee introduced, soon fell into decay, wherever the efficiency of the establishments depended upon the vigilance or care of the executive authority. This was first perceivable in the army where the discipline and strict orders of Sivajee were neglected. When the horse took the field, stragglers were allowed to join, plunder was secreted, women followers who had been prohibited on pain of death, were not only permitted, but women were brought off from the enemy's country as an established article of plunder, and either retained as concubines, or sold as slaves.

The small returns brought back by the commanders of the horse, were insufficient for the pay of the troops; they took the field in arrears, and permission to keep a portion of their plunder was an ample and desirable compensation for the regular pay allowed by Sivajee.

Sumbhajee was prodigal in his expenses, and as he considered his father's treasure inexhaustible, even the favourite minister was unwilling to rouse his dangerous temper by touching on that theme.

No revenue was received from the Carnatic after the death of Rugonath Punt; the districts in that quarter maintained themselves, but as loss rather than advantage was now the result of most of the expeditions, by which, in the time of Sivajee, so much was amassed, Kuloosha conceived he had discovered an easy mode of replenishing the treasury, by raising the land-rent, through the addition of various assessments; but when he came to collect the revenue, he found that the receipts were as much diminished from what they had been in the time of Sivajee, as the assessments were nominally encreased.

The managers of districts were in consequence removed, for what appeared to him, evident peculation. The revenue was farmed, many of the ryots fled from their villages, and speedy ruin threatened the territory of Sumbhajee, without the approach of Aurungzebe, who this year advanced to Burhanpoor with a vast army, for the purpose of carrying his designs on the Deccan into execution.

The ostensible impediments to the emperor's plans, were, in comparison to his apparent means, very inconsiderable. The state of Hyderabad was the most formidable as to men and money, and the king, Abou Hoossein, was possessed of great private riches in jewels. His administration, conducted principally under Mahdhuna Punt, was popular amongst a large proportion of his Hindoo subjects, but many of the principal Mahomedan officers were disgusted at the sway exercised by a Bramin, over both their prince and country. Their jealousy was

fomented by the secret emissaries of Aurungzebe; but Abou Hoossein, sensible of the minister's value, did not withdraw his confidence or support.

Mullik Berkhordar, the envoy of Aurungzebe, residing at the capital of Beejapoor, not only succeeded in drawing over many of the principal officers who were pensioned or employed by the emperor, but to his influence may be ascribed the decay of Musaood Khan's power. The faction opposed to the regent, was headed by Syud Mukhtoom, an Oomrah of no distinction, but he was supported by Shirzee Khan, the best officer then left in the Beejapoor army. Shirzee Khan's enmity towards Musaood Khan, originated in the preference shown the latter for infantry, which was contrary both to the interest and judgment of the former: many of the best horse under Shirzee Khan had been discharged, and Musaood Khan had been obliged to call in the aid of Sivajee, at the expense of ceding some of the finest districts in the kingdom. This faction forced Musaood Khan to quit Beejapoor and retire to Adonee, probably about a year* after Sivajee's death. By whom the new administration was conducted is uncertain; but as the envoy of Aurungzebe had always represented the treaty with the Mahrattas as a great source of displeasure to the emperor, one of its first acts, after the removal of Musaood Khan, was an injudicious attempt to recover some of the fertile territory near the banks of the Kistna, of which

* The Beejapoor Manuscripts and traditions afford nothing better than conjecture on this subject; nor could I ascertain if there was a regent after Musaood Khan retired.

Sivajee had acquired possession. Merich was retaken, and the breach which this occasioned between Sumbhajee and the Beejapoor government, seems to have been irreparable. It was the interest of Sumbhajee to unite with the Mahomedan states on this occasion, and Mahdhuna Punt made some endeavours to effect a confederacy, but there were so many parties and interests, such jealousy and imbecility, that no state could call forth its own resources, still less could all combine in one grand effort. For whilst Aurungzebe's emissaries pretended at each of the courts of Beejapoor and Hyderabad, that the emperor meant to extend to it, particular favour and protection, some of the members of the state were weak enough to be lulled by such palpable illusions, and many of the nobles were traitors; so that the ostensible authorities in each government, distrusting all around them, were careful not to suggest proceedings which might ensure their own assassination or precipitate the hostility of the emperor. When Musaood Khan was obliged to reduce the army, he maintained but a small number of cavalry in addition to the Mahratta Munsubdars, who, in fear of losing their Jagheers, Enams, and hereditary rights, still acknowledged themselves the servants of the Beejapoor state. Some of the members of the different families had, however, enrolled themselves with Sivajee, and continued under the standard of Sumbhajee.

The Mahratta Munsubdars, formerly under the Nizam Shahee state, in like manner paid obedience to the Moghuls, whilst many of their relations

were in the army of Sumbhajee. Wherever there were disputes regarding hereditary rights, which is generally the case amongst village and district officers, as well as Enamdars, Jagheerdars, and all old Hindoo families, the party not in possession, as the country became more and more unsettled, always went over to the invading enemy, prompted by motives of self-interest, but more by feelings of spite and personal enmity, in hopes of finding some occasion for wreaking vengeance on the opponent. If the invader prevailed, the occupant was frequently ejected, and he took the same mode of being re-instated; or, if fortunate enough to make his peace by timely submission, the other party awaited another opportunity.

Aurungzebe understood and took advantage of these feuds. The reader, at all acquainted with the Hindoo character, can conceive the bitter rancour with which they pursued these quarrels, when there are several instances of one party becoming a Mahomedan, in order to ruin his adversary and gratify revenge. The services of the Hindoo Munsubdars, under the Mahomedan states, became exactly in proportion to the measure of punishment or reward, which the government they acknowledged could inflict or bestow.

This brief survey of the state of the Deccan must be understood to apply to that period which followed the first year of Sumbhajee's accession, up to the fall of Beejapoor and Golcondah, when additional causes of disturbance and confusion will appear. But previously to entering upon the war which was directed by Aurungzebe in person, it

is fit to notice an extraordinary event which occurred amongst our own countrymen, in their then small establishment on the west of India, of which Surat was, at that time, the residence of the governor, or president of the council, under whom the East India Company's factories on the coast, were managed.

In December, 1683, the garrison of Bombay, at the head of which was Captain Keigwin, confined the deputy of the governor of Surat, declared they held the island for the king, and that they would submit to no other authority. This act of rebellion being limited to a small insulated space, and Keigwin its instigator, a firm, resolute man, who maintained order amongst his inferiors, notwithstanding the pernicious example he had set, the ruinous consequences so much to be dreaded, were happily obviated, and an amnesty having been promised by Sir Thomas Grantham, whom the president in council at Surat had named to act under a general commission obtained from the king, the whole island was surrendered and restored to the lawful authorities, 11th November, 1684.

The state of parties in England had probably as great an effect in occasioning this proceeding as its immediate cause. The interests of commercial adventurers, and the rival East India Company, which sprang up about this time, created a variety of reports, and spread opinions in India prejudicial to the existing company. This, no doubt, tended to diminish that respect for them in the eyes of

their own servants which was of so much importance to the preservation of their authority.

The directors injudiciously chose this period, for reducing their expenses by decreasing the allowances of their military. The president in council at Surat carried the orders into effect, in that ungracious and arbitrary manner which appears to have marked the government of Sir John Child, and in the state of feeling which these various causes were likely to produce in high-spirited rash men, the revolt which ensued, however inexcusable, is not surprising.

It was fortunate that the president had not the means of attempting to enforce immediate obedience, otherwise it is possible the rebels might have been driven to the infamous alternative of making over the island to the Moghuls or the Mahrattas. Keigwin's management, however, in several respects, merited commendation, particularly in having obtained from Sumbhajee not only a confirmation of the articles agreed to by Sivajee, but a grant for the establishment of factories at Cuddalore and Thevenapatam, an exemption from duties in the Carnatic, and the balance of compensation for losses sustained by the English, at different places, formerly plundered by the Mahrattas. *

A. D. 1684. We now return to affairs of greater magnitude than those of the infant establishments of the East India Company, connected, however, not only with our subject, but

* Orme.

intimately linked with the causes by which the British nation has obtained such vast power in that distant portion of the globe.

Aurungzebe, whom we have mentioned as marching to Burhanpoor, remained there for some months regulating several departments in finance, and settling plans for the approaching grand arrangements he had in contemplation. He first ordered Sultan Mauzum, now dignified with the title of Shah Alum*, to proceed in advance from Ahmednugur with his whole army, and reduce Sumbhajee's southern territory, whilst Sultan Azim was directed to reduce his northern forts about Candeish, Buglana, and Sungumnere, and to commence by besieging the important fortress of Salheir, the acquisition of which, by Moro Punt, had afforded such facility for Mahratta inroads through Candeish. Accordingly, Sultan Mauzum descended into the Concan by the Ambadurray Ghaut, near Nassuck, and passing the Kallian district, already devastated, advanced to the southward, where he plundered and burnt the country from Raigurh to Vingorla. Sultan Azim marched towards Salheir, where much resistance was expected, but Neknam Khan, the Moghul Killidar of Molheir, who joined the prince on his advance, had obtained a previous promise from his neighbour the Mahratta Havildar, to surrender Salheir as soon as the army came before it. Such negotiations being always doubtful in their issue, Neknam Khan had pru-

* I shall continue to use the name by which he is already known to the reader.

dently communicated the agreement to the emperor only, the place, however, was evacuated, and the prince, with the feeling of a very young commander, disappointed in the expected fame of the conquest, expressed great displeasure at being sent on such a service. He was shortly after recalled, the emperor promising to employ him in the war against Beejapoor.* Shahabodeen Khan was, therefore, ordered to reduce the remainder of the forts, but met with an unexpected resistance from the Havildar of Ramseje, by whom his troops being repeatedly repulsed, Khan Jehan Buhadur was sent to repair the failure, but after many vaunting attempts, equally unsuccessful as those of his predecessor, he was compelled to retire with disgrace.

Sultan Mauzum's army, although they had overrun the greater part of the Concan, do not appear to have come prepared for sieges; the forts and places of strength still remained in the hands of Sumbhajee, who, during this inroad, sent his cavalry to subsist in the upper country, whilst he himself retired with Sultan Akber to Vishalgurh. The distresses occasioned by the ravages of the invading army soon recoiled upon themselves, and scarcity prevailed in their camp. Sumbhajee taking advantage of the improvident waste they had made, ordered down his horse, and directed them, assisted by the different garrisons of the forts, to stop the roads, cut off supplies, harass them by desultory attacks, and destroy the foragers and stragglers. The Mahratta horse found

* Khafee Khan.

subsistence from the grass and grain stored under the protection of the forts, but the Moghuls were soon in great distress, and thousands of followers, horses, and cattle, perished.

The emperor apprised of their situation, but unwilling to sanction what might seem a defeat, directed the force under Shahabodeen Khan to proceed for the purpose of opening the communication; and orders were sent to the Moghul governor at Surat, to embark supplies for Dhunda Rajepoor and Vingorla. The demand being urgent, the vessels were sent off, as laden, without waiting for convoy, and Sumbhajee's cruizers, apprised of their approach, took the greater part. Such a scanty supply arrived that it became impossible to exist in that situation, and Sultan Mauzum was obliged to retire towards the Ambah Ghaut, which he ascended, and afterwards cantoned his army, during the monsoon, near Walwa on the banks of the Kistna.

Shahabodeen Khan, when directed to march for the relief of the prince, advanced as far as Nizampoor near Raigurh, when he was opposed by Sumbhajee, whom he defeated, probably in a very partial action; but small advantages are always overestimated in unsuccessful campaigns, Shahabodeen, being a personal favourite with the emperor, and at the head of a body of Tooranee Moghuls, his countrymen, whom it was the emperor's desire to conciliate, was honoured with the title of Ghazee-ud-deen, and the recollection of his failure at Ramseje purposely obliterated. Such, we may here observe, is the earliest account we have, in the history of the Deccan, of the ancestor of the family of

Nizam Ool Moolk, afterwards so conspicuous in the annals of that country.

The emperor, in the meantime, had quitted Burhanpoor, and arrived at Aurungabad. During his stay at the former city, amongst other arrangements, he issued orders for the collection of the Jizeea *, a poll-tax levied on all his subjects, not Mahomedans, which was to be as strictly exacted in the Deccan, as in the northern part of the empire.

To reconcile such a measure with that character for wisdom which has been assigned to Aurungzebe, is impossible; it would even be inexplicable in a person of ordinary capacity, but the workings of fanaticism always warp the understanding, and Aurungzebe may have supposed that, his undertaking merited divine favour, by giving the people about to be conquered, the alternative of conversion or taxation. There could be no political reason for such an edict, although his apologists may point out the mean one of gratifying the Mahomedan vulgar, and affording an earnest, of what his emissaries professed at Beejapoor and Golcondah, that he was coming to the Deccan for the purpose of suppressing idolatry, and placing Mahomedan power on such a footing, as would, in future, uphold the dignity of the faith of Islam.

The imperial service sustained considerable loss this year by the death of Dilere Khan. He had great experience in Deccan warfare, had seen more service than most officers of his time, and had sig-

* The Jizeea was thirteen rupees per annum, for every 2000 rupees worth of property possessed by Hindoos. Scott's Deccan.

nalized himself on many occasion. He was always suspected, and in his old age neglected, by the emperor, after having fought his battles for twenty-six years. A just retribution, when we know, that in joining the crafty Aurungzebe, he became a traitor to the cause of the generous, confiding and unfortunate Dara.

Sumbhajee was still at war with the Portuguese, and the latter had instigated the chief of Soonda, and the Dessayes of Carwar, to throw off their allegiance; Sumbhajee, about the end of the rains, sent some of his troops into the northern Concan, and again plundered the exposed parts of the Portuguese possessions in that quarter; he himself came to Panalla to watch the motions of Sultan Mauzum's army.

The emperor, at the opening of the fair season, leaving Khan Jehan at Aurungabad, moved with the grand camp, in more than ordinary magnificence, towards Ahmednugur.

The number of his forces is not specified by any Moghul historian, and the estimate formed by the Mahrattas is quite incredible. The display of power, however, presented by Aurungzebe's march into the Deccan, was grand and imposing to a degree which has seldom been surpassed. Besides foreigners, his cavalry assembled from Cabul, Candahar, Mooltan, Lahore, Rajpootana, and the extended provinces of his vast empire, was the flower of his army, and presented an array of gigantic men and horses completely armed and accoutred, whom it might be imagined, the more slender and lighter armed natives of the Deccan could hardly venture to op-

pose. His infantry was also numerous, and was composed of musketeers, matchlockmen, and archers, well equipped; besides bodies of hardy Boondelas and Mewattees accustomed to predatory contests among the mountains, and the better able to cope with the Mahratta Mawulees. To these were afterwards added many thousands of infantry, raised in the Carnatic. Besides a number of field-pieces, which accompanied the royal tents, there were several hundred pieces of cannon manned by natives of Hindoostan, and directed by European gunners, and a great number of miners were attached to the park of artillery, with artizans of every description. A long train of war-elephants, was followed by a number of the same animals on the emperor's private establishment, employed to carry the ladies of his seraglio, or to convey such of his tents as were too large to be borne on camels. Numerous led horses, magnificently caparisoned, formed a stud for the emperor's riding; a menagerie accompanied the camp, from which the rarest animals in the world were frequently brought forth and exhibited by their keepers before the emperor and his court;—whilst hawks, hounds, hunting tigers, trained elephants, and every accompaniment used for field sport, swelled the pomp of this prodigious retinue. The canvass-walls which encompassed the royal tents, formed a circumference of 1,200 yards, and contained every description of apartment to be found in the most spacious palace. Halls of audience for public assemblies and privy councils, with all the courts and cabinets attached to them, each hall magnificently adorned,

and having within it, a raised seat or throne for the emperor, surrounded by gilded pillars with canopies of velvet, richly fringed, and superbly embroidered; separate tents, as mosques, and oratories; baths and galleries for archery, and gymnastic exercises; a seraglio as remarkable for luxury and privacy as that of Delhi; Persian carpets, damasks, and tapestries; European velvets, satins, and broad-cloths; Chinese silks of every description, and Indian muslins and cloth of gold, were employed in all the tents with the utmost profusion and effect. Gilded balls and cupolas surmounted the tops of the royal tents; the out side of which, and the canvass walls, were of a variety of lively colours, disposed in a manner which heightened the general splendour. The entrance into the royal enclosure was through a spacious portal, flanked by two elegant pavilions, from which extended, on each side, rows of cannon, forming an avenue, at the extremity of which, was an immense tent containing the great state drums, and imperial band; — a little farther in front was the post of the grand guard on duty, commanded by a nobleman, who mounted with it daily. On the other sides, surrounding the great enclosure just mentioned, were separate tents, for the emperor's armoury, harness, &c., a tent for water, kept cool with saltpetre, another for fruit, a third for sweetmeets, a fourth for betel, and so on, with numerous kitchens, stables, &c. &c. Such luxury in a camp is scarcely to be conceived; but besides what has been described, every tent had its exact duplicate, which was sent on in advance to be prepared against the emperor's arrival. His

march was a procession, and when he entered his pavilions, a salvo from fifty or sixty pieces of ordnance announced the event; and he assumed and maintained every form and cermony observed at the established residences of the imperial court.

The magnificence of such a spectacle, which formed a remarkable contrast with the plain and even austere personal habits of the emperor, was intended to strengthen his power by the awe with which it impressed his subjects; but as his state was imitated by his nobles, it proved a serious encumbrance to the movements of his army, while the devouring expense of such establishments pressed hard on his finances, and soon crippled even the most necessary of his military and political arrangements.

We may easily suppose that the inconveniences of this style of magnificence, of which all the Moghul camps in some degree partook, must have been already experienced by Sultan Mauzum during his campaign in the Concan. Whilst he lay at Walwa above the Ghauts, he took possession in the emperor's name, of such parts of the country as he could cover, and deeds are yet extant, confirming in his own name, grants of lands, originally given by the Beejapoor government. In the month of October, a pestilence broke out in his camp, which swept off many of his men, and greatly diminished his force, but on receiving the emperor's orders to reduce the south-west districts above the Ghauts, formerly taken by Sivajee from Beejapoor, he advanced without hesitation for that purpose, and Azim Shah, who had commenced the war

against Beejapoor with indifferent success, opened the campaign to the northward, by laying siege to Sholapoor.

A. D. 1685. Sumbhajee's troops in the Concan, under the command of Humbeer Rao, apprized of the exposed state of Candeish, were secretly re-inforced by several detachments, and moved off to the northward. They suddenly appeared at Burhanpoor *, plundered it of much property and riches for several days, and retired as rapidly as their heavy loads would permit, leaving the whole country, in their route from Burhanpoor to Nassuck, in a blaze.

Khan Jehan, on hearing of this inroad, moved from Aurungabad in pursuit, but in place of marching to Chandore or Unkye Tunkye to cut off their retreat, which he might have done, he crossed the range of hills at the Ajunta pass, and wheeled round to the left, but he never came within five marches of the Mahrattas. After having followed them to a considerable distance to the southward, he received orders to place Thannas in the country between Joonere and Singurh, whilst the young prince Kaum Bukhsh was sent to cover Burhanpoor.

Khan Jehan took possession of Poona and the adjacent country, where he left Khakur Khan as Foujdar, and was proceeding by the emperor's order to support Azim Shah, who had taken Shola-

* I place this according to Mr. Orme's date, who has it from the records of the factory of Candeish, and circumstances corroborate its correctness. The fact is distinctly mentioned by Mahratta manuscripts, and Khafee Khan; but the dates widely disagree, and are, in both, obviously misplaced.

poor, and was advancing towards Beejapoor, but the prince finding that he could not contend with Shirzee Khan, had recrossed the Beema, which made the junction of Khan Jehan unnecessary. *

Sultan Mauzum, mean while, had successively captured Gokauk, Hooblee, and Dharwar, in which he had met with little resistance; but famine, pestilence, and the drafts from his force required to garrison the new acquisitions, had so greatly reduced the numbers and efficiency of his troops, that when attacked by a small detachment, sent against him from Beejapoor, he was scarcely able to defend himself. Roh Oolah Khan was immediately sent forward with a party to his assistance, and Khan Jehan was ordered to cover Roh Oolah Khan. Until this succour arrived, the prince's army was constantly harassed; most of the horses being dead, nobles and troopers were reduced to the necessity of marching and fighting on foot, which even the common horsemen considered a degrading hardship. The wreck of this fine army returned to Ahmednugur, more effectually reduced than if they had been vanquished in many battles. †

After assisting Sultan Mauzum's shattered army, and escorting the prince to the frontiers, Khan Jehan and Roh Oolah Khan returned, and cantoned at Hulmullee, in the Beejapoor territory

* Khafee Khan. Mahratta MSS. Bernier. Scott's Deccan. Orme.

† The account of Sultan Mauzum's campaign is taken from Khafee Khan, Orme, Scott's Deccan, the Enam deeds alluded to, and copies of original letters from Mohummud Akber to Kuloosha.

during the monsoon. At the opening of the season, these two officers were ordered to invest Beejapoor.

Mahdhuna Punt's endeavours to effect union in opposing Aurungzebe, were ineffectual, even when the intentions of the latter in regard to Beejapoor were avowed. Sumbhajee made no effort to aid that state, but he engaged to assist Golcondah, and received a subsidy of one lack of pagodas from Abou Hoossein. This alliance was communicated to the emperor, and the conditions came to his knowledge at a subsequent period. He immediately ordered Khan Jehan to advance into the Hyderabad territories, under pretence of receiving the arrears of tribute. Sadut Khan accompanied the army as envoy, with secret instructions, not merely to demand satisfaction for this alliance with Sumbhajee, but to provoke any fit cause of widening the breach, and producing a rupture with Hyderabad.

The emperor marched from Ahmednugur towards Sholapoor, and directed a body of troops, stationed at Joonere, under Ghazee-ud-deen, to move towards Ahmednugur. The Mahrattas, again seizing this opportunity, made a rapid march to the northward, crossed the Taptee and Nerbuddah, and assaulted and took the city of Baroach within a few hours after their approach was known. * It is probable that Sultan Akber was the instigator, if not the leader of this enterprize; he was actively employed against his brother during the campaign in the Concan †, and on this occasion, the party proclaimed him emperor, plundered and exacted all

* Orme.

† Original letters to Kuloosha.

they could, and did not retire until the approach of the Soobehdar of Guzerat, who had assembled the troops of the province, and marched against them.*

The sack, both of Burhanpoor and Baroach, are principally to be ascribed to Aurungzebe's want of military arrangement. Intent on his own schemes against the Mahomedan states, he neither covered his own country, nor took time to study the genius of the people, whom his early ambition and his present negligence alike fostered, and for whom, he still entertained a contempt, fatal to the security of his empire.

The operations against Beejapoor were renewed. Sultan Azim moved forward about the end of the year, and approached the capital with a large army. The officers of Beejapoor, although they had before opposed him on the frontier successfully, now retired before him. This was judicious. Very little rain had fallen this year, a scarcity prevailed, and the little grain which had been produced in the neighbourhood of Beejapoor was, as usual, secured within the fort. To the northward, in the province of Aurungabad, the harvest had been more plentiful, but grain was exceedingly dear in the grand camp at Sholapoor, which drew its supplies from

* It is mentioned in Scott's Deccan, that Sultan Mohummud Akber was supported by a body of Mahrattas, in an attempt to proceed to Hindoostan, and that he was defeated near Chakun, but the successful attack on Baroach is the only one in which I think it probable that he was a principal actor. He was engaged in the Concan, and was at Palee and at Beemgurh when Sultan Mauzum's troops were attacked, as appears by copies of letters, from Mohummud Akber to Kuloosha Kuvee Kulus, which I obtained from the late Raja of Kolapoor.

the northward. * To have attacked Azim Shah, therefore, in the neighbourhood of the emperor's camp, would comparatively have been of little advantage. They allowed him to approach the city, when they cut off the communication between him and the camp at Sholapoor, interrupted his supplies, destroyed foragers, harassed the army by false attacks and skirmishes, and in a very short time, Azim Shah was in great distress. The scarcity in his own camp prevented the emperor from forwarding supplies from Sholapoor. Ghazee-ud-deen Khan was therefore ordered to bring 20,000 bullock loads of grain from Ahmednugur, and carry it on to Azim Shah's force, reinforced by a strong detachment under Dulput Rao from the grand army. This service was well performed by Ghazee-ud-deen. The Beejapoor troops saw the necessity of cutting off his convoy, and made a desperate attempt to effect their purpose, but they were defeated; and after a well contested action, the prince's troops were rescued from the disgrace and destruction which the loss or delay of the convoy had rendered unavoidable. On this occasion, the princess Janee Begum, wife of Azim Shah, proceeding with the convoy to join her husband, mounted her elephant, and advanced into the battle encouraging the troops. Aurungzebe expressed himself more gratefully to Ghazee-ud-deen for thus relieving his son, than for any service ever performed by his officers.*

A.D. 1686.

Khan Jehan, according to the orders which were

* Khafee Khan, and Scott's Deccan.

given, had advanced towards Hyderabad, but Mahdhuna Punt's preparations were in a more forward state than was expected, and Ibrahim Khan, the supposed friend of the minister, met the Moghuls at Mulkair, with an army of seventy thousand men. Khan Jehan's force being quite unequal to contend with this host, and a retreat being exceedingly dangerous under such circumstances, he threw up intrenchments, and sent intelligence of his situation to the emperor. Sultan Mauzum was immediately dispatched with a body of troops to his relief. In the mean time Ibrahim Khan, who had a fine army, and had Khan Jehan completely in his power, made no vigorous attacks, and on the advance of Sultan Mauzum, his conduct was so treacherous, or his exertions so feeble, that the Moghuls marched on to Hyderabad with little opposition. The king retired into the fortress of Golcondah, notwithstanding Mahdhuna Punt's remonstrances; but at this time, Ibrahim Khan treacherously deserted to the Moghuls, the city of Hyderabad was taken possession of, and, contrary to Sultan Mauzum's orders, plundered by the troops. The wisest minister is obnoxious in times of public misfortune; the enemies of Mahdhuna Punt, at the instigation of the king's mother-in-law, or some of the treacherous factions in league with the Moghuls, took advantage of the general outcry amongst the populace, and assassinated him. Abou Hoossein, although he had many amiable qualities, was destitute of the firmness and decision in which only his safety could be found, and being thus left without an adviser, sued for peace. Au-

rungzebe perceiving that the troops, the wealth, and the preparations at Hyderabad were more formidable than he had contemplated, and that Beejapoor seemed likely to make considerable resistance, agreed to a peace, on being promised two crores of rupees in treasure and effects, which Sultan Mauzum was left to collect. The prince and Khan Jehan fell under the emperor's displeasure, for not securing the plunder of Hyderabad, and Aurungzebe, recollecting the vast treasure he had obtained there, in 1655, became jealous of the wealth they were supposed to have secreted for purposes similar perhaps to what his own had been. Khan Jehan was therefore ordered to Lahore, and although he rejoined the emperor some years afterwards, he was never again actively employed.*

The emperor now moved to Beejapoor. The walls of the city were of immense extent, and the fort, which communicates with it, is six miles in circumference. To invest the latter closely, therefore, required the presence of the grand army. There were different breaching batteries erected, but the principal one, under the immediate superintendence of Turbeeut Khan, was on the south face.

Shirzee Khan, Abdool Raoof, Seedees Zalim, and Jumshed, were the officers who defended the fort, under the young prince Sikundur. The garrison was not numerous, but, although ill-paid, and short of provisions, they still showed some remains of Patan valour, and fought with obstinacy. The

* Scott's Deccan. Khafee Khan. Beejapoor MSS., &c.

emperor as he saw they must surrender, and as the occasion was not pressing, prudently deferred the assault after the breach was practicable, choosing rather to trust a little to the effects likely to be produced in them by reflection on their hopeless situation, embittered by privation, than to assault men, who, under such circumstances, would have fought with desperation, and exulted in an opportunity of dying with their swords in their hands.

Aurungzebe was not disappointed; for although they had still an inner fort much stronger than the outward works, the garrison were so much in want of provisions, that they were compelled to surrender on or about 15th October, 1686. Shirzee Khan concluded the terms through Ghazee-uddeen, to whom the emperor, agreeably to custom, when he received such proposals through any of his officers, was pleased to assign the nominal honor of the conquest. *

The principal officers were admitted into the imperial service, and a Munsub of seven thousand horse, with the title of Roostum Khan, was conferred on Shirzee Khan. The young prince Sikundur Adil Shah was kept a close prisoner in the Moghul camp for three years, when he died suddenly, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by Aurungzebe.†

Beejapoor, henceforth, ceased to be a capital, and was soon after deserted. The walls, which are

* Beejapoor MSS. Khafee Khan. Scott's Deccan.

† Beejapoor MSS. It is said he was put to death in consequence of some popular commotion in his favour. He is buried in Beejapoor.

of hewn stone and very lofty, are, to this day, entire, and being surmounted by the cupolas and minarets of the public buildings, still present to a spectator from without, the appearance of a flourishing city; but within, — all is solitude, silence, and desolation. The deep moat, the double rampart, and the ruins of the splendid palaces in the citadel, attest the former magnificence of the court. The great mosque is a grand edifice, and the tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah, already mentioned, is remarkable for its elegant and graceful architecture, but the chief feature in the scene is the Mausoleum of Mohummud Adil Shah, the dome* of which fills the eye from every point of view, and though in itself entirely devoid of ornament, its enormous dimensions and austere simplicity invest it with an air of melancholy grandeur, which harmonizes with the wreck and desolation that surround it. In the climate where Beejapoor is situated, the progress of decay is extremely rapid, and until lately nothing whatever was done to arrest its effects; but when viewed as mere ruins, the remains of that city, as they at present exist, are exceedingly grand, and, as a vast whole, far exceed any thing of the kind in Europe.

After the reduction of Beejapoor, immediate preparations were made by Aurungzebe for attacking Golcondah, but previously to violating the treaty so lately concluded by Sultan Mauzum, Aurungzebe added meanness to his want of faith, by

* This dome measures 130 feet in diameter; which is larger than that of the Pantheon at Rome, or, I believe, of St. Paul's in London, and very little less than that of St. Peter's.

directing Sadut Khan to procure as much treasure, and as many of Abou Hoossein's jewels as could be extorted, by working on the hopes or the fears of that weak prince.

A Moghul Foujdar*, or military governor of a district, was appointed to command in Beejapoor; and another, named Kasim Khan†, was sent with a detachment across the Kistna, to occupy as much of the country as possible, and induce the Dessayes, or Zumeendars as they were commonly styled by the Moghuls, to acknowledge the imperial authority. Shirzee Khan, of Beejapoor, was sent to invade Sumbhajee's districts, and marched in the direction of Satara.

A.D. 1687. Whilst the emperor advanced towards Kulburga, on pretence of paying his devotions at the tomb of a celebrated saint, Ghazee-ud-deen was directed to move in a direction east and somewhat south of Beejapoor, intended, probably, to intercept any re-inforcements that might be sent from Sugger, Adonee, or any part of the Carnatic, to the assistance of Golcondah. The emissaries of Aurungzebe were busily employed corrupting the troops of Hyderabad by bribes and promises; many of the officers were drawn over, and the envoy, Sadut Khan, by the lowest artifice, obtained possession of the jewels,

* The officer immediately superior to the Foujdar in a great province, was the Nazim, but we seldom find this office mentioned in the later conquests of the Moghuls in the Deccan.

† It would appear by Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 75. that Kasim Khan was left as Foujdar at Hyderabad, after the capture of Golcondah; but this mistake probably originates in his having been re-inforced at that period from Hyderabad.

even to the ornaments of the women, which the king stripped off, vainly hoping that this degrading compliance would satisfy the emperor or excite his commiseration. But feelings of pity never swayed the conduct of Aurungzebe; he declared war against Abou Hoossein by a manifesto, in which the principal articles of accusation, after a general charge of profligacy, were the employment of a Bramin minister, and an alliance with the idolater Sumbhajee. Roused, at length, to indignation against the merciless tyrant by whom he was thus persecuted, but deserted by many whose services he had a right to expect, Abou Hoossein retired to the fort of Golcondah, supported by a few brave troops and officers who still remained faithful. The gallant defence of the fort, the heroic devotion of some o his followers, and the dignified self-possession he maintained to the last, have preserved his memory in Deccan tradition as the brave and good *Tannah Shah*, a title of doubtful meaning by which he is known in Maharashtra, but said to have been the name of a Fuqeer with whom the king was in habits of intimacy previous to his elevation.

The fort of Golcondah, after a siege of seven months, fell by treachery in the end of September, 1687.* Hyderabad is still a populous city, and forms, as our progress will explain, the capital of the Soobehdar of the Deccan. Though much inferior to Beejapoor it retains traces of a royal residence. The great mosque, in particular, is a fine edifice, and the tombs of the Kootub Shahee kings, with their glittering cupolas, overlooked by

* Khafee Khan. Orme.

the fort of Golcondah, forms one of the most striking prospects in India.

It was during the memorable siege of Golcondah that Sultan Mauzum, falling under the unjust suspicion of the emperor, was placed in confinement; and he remained in that situation, in his father's camp, for six years, when he was released and sent as governor to Cabul. His only fault seems to have been a remonstrance in behalf of the persecuted object of the emperor's unjust enmity, more honorable and generous than judicious, as it was attended with such effects to himself and to the unfortunate Abou Hoossein, who was sent to the fortress of Doulutabad, where he ended his days.*

To secure the new conquests, and reduce the whole of the territories subject to Beejapoor and Golcondah was now the first consideration. Reinforcements were sent to Kasim Khan in the Carnatic, to whose proceedings, as connected with the

* An anecdote is told respecting him, which is probably true, but which I notice as characteristic of the pompous politeness of the Mahomedans of India. During Abou Hoossein's confinement in the Emperor's camp, previous to being dispatched to Doulutabad, a tune played by one of the Hindoostanee musicians of the imperial band, gave the captive king great delight, and he wished he had a lack of rupees to bestow upon him. The wish was repeated to Aurungzebe, and instantly complied with.

Many of the natives of India are exceedingly susceptible of the powers of music, and some of the Hindoostanee airs are beautiful. Only a few specimens of an inferior description have ever reached the public in England; but should Major Tod, in his intended history, or in his personal narrative, publish any specimens of the old Rajpoot music, which he now only plays from memory, this anecdote of the last of the kings of Golcondah may be better understood.

detail of Mahratta progress, we shall presently revert.

Khanzad Khan was sent to reduce the fort of Sugger, between Kulburga and Beejapoor, in possession of a chief of the Berud tribe, a cast of people in the Carnatic, precisely similar to the Ramoossees of Maharashtra. This chief was a Polygar, and could command twelve thousand infantry principally of his own tribe. His fort was situated amongst hills and jungles, extremely difficult of access, but, in dread of the Moghul name, he surrendered. As it was an invariable rule of Aurungzebe to bestow great honors on all who unresistingly acknowledged his authority, this Ramoossee Naik, greatly to the amusement of the courtiers, was raised to the rank of a commander of five thousand in the Moghul empire. He survived his honors but a few days, and his son Pemnaik, finding himself uncomfortable in the splendour of his new situation, withdrew to the woods, and collecting a band of his tribe took up his abode in Wakinkerah, a walled village near Sugger, where, by plunder and robbery, he gradually added to his numbers, and in less than twenty years we shall find the last personal effort of the mighty Aurungzebe, directed to reduce the Berud Naik of Wakinkerah.

Azim Shah and Ghazee-ud-deen, at the same time that the other detachments were sent off, marched against Adonee, still in possession of Musaood Khan, formerly regent of Beejapoor. Considering resistance as altogether hopeless, Musaood Khan resigned his possessions, but declined en-

tering the imperial service, and died in respectable obscurity.

The eastern quarter of Golcondah was not overlooked, Rajamundree, and the sea-ports of Mausulipatam and Ganjam were taken possession of; the detachments were successful in all quarters*, and the governors of Kuddapah, Conjevaram, and Poonamalee submitted.†

Those tracts of Carnatic and Drawed which had been subject to the subverted kingdoms of Beejapoor and Golcondah, were indiscriminately termed Carnatic by the Moghuls; but the districts which had belonged to the former state were known as Beejapoor Carnatic, and those which had appertained to the latter as Hyderabad Carnatic. The former lay in the upper country or Carnatic proper, the latter extended from Guntoor along the Coromandel coast, and included portions of territory intermixed with the Mahratta possessions, as far south as the Coleroon. No part of the Paycen Ghaut belonged to Beejapoor, as all its possessions in that quarter were conquered by Sivajee; but several places in the Balaghaut, or Carnatic proper, were still comprehended in the Hyderabad Carnatic, amongst which may be enumerated, Gootee, near Adonee, and the districts of Gurumcondah, Gandicotta, and Sidhout.

After the fall of Golcondah the grand camp moved towards Beejapoor, whilst the detachments, whose destination we have briefly noticed, were occupying and settling the country on every side, and before we revert to the share which the Mah-

* Khafee Khan. † Orme.

rattas had in the events of this period, it is fit to explain, without a superfluous enumeration of all the establishment, the mode in which the Moghuls took possession of a district.

Two officers were appointed to it, the Foujdar and the Khalsa Dewan. The Foujdar was a military officer, in command of a body of troops, charged with the care of the police, and the protection of his division. He held, or, according to circumstances, assumed, a greater or less degree of power. The regular amount allowed him for the maintenance of the district establishment was about 25 per cent. of the government collections. The duties of he Dewan were entirely of a civil nature, and he was intrusted with the collection of the revenue, whether of the exchequer, or on account of a Jagheerdar. The Moghul commanders who received what were called Jagheers from the newly acquired territories of Hyderabad and Beejapoor, seldom had lands permanently made over similar to the tenure by which the Mahratta Munsubdars held their possessions; the usual practice was, to grant assignments, for a term of years, on specified districts for the support of their troops. Thus the Foujdars were more on the footing of feudatories than the Jagheerdars. The Foujdars, in conjunction with the Dewan, farmed out the districts to the Deshmookhs or Dessayes, and the Dewan realized the amount from them. There were commonly several Foujdars in each Soobeh. The Moghul conquests in the Deccan, which had formerly consisted of four Soobehs, now, with the addition of Beejapoor and Golcondah, were formed into six.

During the rapid progress of Aurungzebe's con-

quests, the personal inactivity of Sumbhajee is ascribed, by the Mahratta writers, to the effects of the incantations of the magician Kuloosha. The fact appears to have been, that Sumbhajee's habits had become adandoned, and he was generally lost in the stupor or derangement, occasioned by a brutal excitement of the senses. He still might be roused to temporary activity; but, although many of his father's officers, besides the few who were employed, were well qualified to assist at this crisis, they were deterred from acting by the jealousy of Kuloosha, or the violence of his master.*

The Mahratta Munsubdars, who had been in the service of Beejapoor after the fall of the capital, sent professions of duty to the emperor, but they showed no readiness to join his standard †. Shirzee Khan was, as we have seen, detached for the purpose of attacking Sumbhajee's possessions, and the Munsubdars alluded to, were ordered to co-operate, but it is not ascertained that they joined him. Shirzee Khan, after penetrating as far as Waee, was attacked and defeated by Humbeer Rao, the Senaputtee, a victory dearly purchased by the loss of Humbeer Rao who was mortally wounded on the occasion.‡ The advantage which the Mahrattas had gained, was not neglected in consequence of this misfortune, several of their detachments pushed forward, and occupied a great part of the open country towards Beejapoor. Parties of Mahratta horse made their appearance at Golcondah during the siege § of that place, but they acted with no

* Mahratta MSS.

† Original letters in the possession of different families.

‡ Mahratta MSS. § Khafee Khan.

vigour, and scarcely caused any interruption to the operations. The most important diversion which Sumbhajee attempted, was by sending off a detachment to the Carnatic under the orders of Kessoo Punt Pingley, the late Peishwa's brother, with Suntajee Ghorepuray as his second in command. *

The preconcerted plan was to unite with Hurjee Raja Mahareek, and their ultimate design, the occupation of the districts in the upper Carnatic, which had been the Jagheer of Shahjee, and were still held by Venkajee, from whom Sumbhajee had received neither share nor tribute since his accession. But on the arrival of the army at Ginjee, disputes and jealousies arose between Kessoo Punt and his nephew Neloo Punt; and it was supposed, or perhaps given out by the latter, that Kessoo Punt had some secret orders to disposses Hurjee Raja of the government. †

Venkajee, whether aware of this expedition, or foreseeing that it would not be in his power to defend the paternal Jagheer, was at this time in treaty with Chick Deo Raj, Raja of Mysore, for the sale of Bangalore, but the negotiation having become a matter of notoriety, the Mahrattas at Ginjee were intent on possessing themselves of it before the transfer should take place, and the Moghuls became equally desirous of anticipating them. The dissensions which prevailed at Ginjee, which, as in all

* Mahratta MSS. Such of my readers as are familiar with Mahratta names, will have some difficulty to indentify Kessoo Punt Pingley, with Mr. Orme's Keisswa Puntolo, which is, it seems, the mode of pronouncing the name by the natives of the Coromandel coast.

† Mahratta MSS.

other situations, are the bane of active service, delayed the Mahrattas. Kasim Khan arrived first, took Bangalore without resistance, and sold it a few days afterwards to Chick Deo Raj, for three lacks of rupees, the same sum as the Raja of Mysore had agreed to pay to Venkajee.*

Kessoo Punt and Suntajee Ghorepuray, frustrated in their design upon Bangalore, entered the country of Mysore, where they levied contributions, and remained several months, but made no permanent conquests, and after hearing of the fall of Golcondah and the rapid progress of the Moghuls, they returned in the end of the year to Ginjee.

A. D. 1688. Hurjee Raja, alarmed at the approach of the Moghuls and the submission of the neighbouring officers, at last united with Kessoo Punt, and they succeeded in possessing themselves of several places, but a large body of the Moghul troops arriving in the neighbourhood, and no cordial union existing among the Mahrattas, they were compelled to relinquish these new acquisitions and retire to the protection of their forts on each side of the Paliar.†

Ouscotta, another of the oldest Mahratta possessions in the Carnatic, was this year wrested from Venkajee by the Raja of Mysore, which might have easily been prevented by the aid of Sumbhajee's troops, but where Mahrattas have hereditary disputes, they can seldom be induced to set them aside, even in behalf of their common interests.

Their power in the Carnatic was rapidly declin-

* Wilks. † Orme.

ing, and if their strength in Maharashtra had not depended on causes altogether different from any thing consolidated or regular, Aurungzebe's plans of conquest would not have proved visionary, and the Mahratta name must have speedily sunk into its former obscurity.

Sumbhajee had become completely careless of all general business, he spent his time between Panalla and Vishalgurh, or at a favoure house and garden in Sungumeshwur. The only plan on which he seems to have been particularly intent in his present state of imbecility, was connected with his early success, and during his lucid intervals he was planning the capture of Goa, but failure attended all his intrigues. The whole power was in the hands of Kuloosha, and the time of the minister seems to have been more occupied in managing his master's humours, than in attending to the important business of the state. Prince Mohummud Akber, whose advice and intelligence had been of service to Sumbhajee, became disgusted with his situation, and after the fall of Beejapoor, finding he had nothing to hope and much to fear, by remaining longer in India, obtained Sumbhajee's permission, hired a vessel at Rajapoor, commanded by an Enlishman, withdrew to the court of Persia, where he resided for twenty years, and died at Ispahan in 1706.

The laxity to which we have already adverted, as having taken place in the discipline of the Mahratta army soon after Sivajee's death, greatly increased in a few years, and although extremely detrimental to Sumbhajee's resources as head of an

organized state, it had a wonderful effect in extending predatory power, for every lawless man, and every disbanded soldier, whether Mahomedan or Mahratta, who could command a horse and a spear, joined the Mahratta parties, and such adventurers were often enriched by the plunder of a day. The spirit, which, independent of every other cause, was thus excited amongst a people fond of money, and disposed to predatory habits, can easily be imagined. The multitude of horsemen nurtured by former wars, were already found too heavy a burden on a regular state, and no resources could support them. The proportion of the best troops which was retained in the imperial service, would probably have soon enabled Aurungzebe to suppress the disorders, commonly attendant on Indian conquest, had there been no spirit kindled amongst the Mahratta people. But a pride in the conquests of Sivajee, their confidence in the strength of the forts, the skill and bravery of several of the Mahratta leaders, the ability and influence of many of the Bramins, and lastly, the minds of the Hindoo population, aroused, by reports of the odious poll-tax, to jealous watchfulness on the tenderest point, had, in addition to what we have already enumerated, excited a ferment which required not only vast means, but an entire change of measures, before it could possibly be allayed.

Aurungzebe possessed great military strength, and pecuniary resource; he also had considerable local knowledge, and in the first instance, the same power of confirming or withholding hereditary rights, as his predecessors in conquest. Titles,

Munsubs, and Jagheers were frequently bestowed, and still more frequently promised, with a liberality greater than any former conqueror had shown; but presumption, jealousy, and bigotry soon deprived him of many of those advantages. He was not fully aware of the strength or the nature of predatory power, and instead of crushing it by the aid of the established governments, he pulled down those consituted authorites without replacing them; he involved himself with enemies on every side; he discharged the soldiery, whom, in addition to his own troops, he could not maintain, and thus sent armies into the field against himself. He supposed that he was not only acquainted with the details of arrangements necessary in a newly conquered country, but capable of superintending them; he placed little confidence in his agents, whilst he, at the same time, employed Mahomedans in all situations, to fill which, in many instances, policy and humanity alike dictated the selection of Hindoos. The confusion and disorder which ensued could not be tranquillized by the emperor's fancied wisdom, or the flattery and praises of his court and countrymen. The Mahrattas, more especially the Bramins, are not a people so easily dazzled as the Mahomedans, and in the course of a very short time, they began to discover the weakness of the Moghuls.

The powerful Mankurees*, Duflay, Ghatgay,

* Mankuree literally means a great man. It was originally, as above used, the name by which those Mahrattas who had been Munsubdars under the old Mahomedan monarchies in the Deccan, were, and still are distinguished. Latterly, however, it was assumed by every Mahratta at the head of a body of

Manay, Nimbalkur, &c. during the siege of Beejapoor, hovered about the Imperial camp until the fall of the capital, when they withdrew to their Jagheers, sending their Wukeels with humble professions of duty, and sometimes attending themselves; but from this time, they joined plundering parties of their own countrymen, or submitted to the Moghuls, as circumstances invited or compelled them. There were few plunderers independent of Sumbhajee's parties or some Mankuree, because the Foujdar's troops were always too powerful for common depredators. A few *Pindharees* *, as all not belonging to Mahratta parties were termed, appeared about Beder, but they were soon suppressed, or driven to join the Mahratta standard. No irregulars of that description received pay, but were frequently taken under the protection of some Mahratta chief, and allowed to encamp near him, on condition of presenting frequent nuzurs, or in other words, giving up a part of their plunder.

The Mankurees, whilst their envoys were in

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horse, who could boast of being a *Wutundar*. *Man-pan*, or rights and privileges, are words in the mouth of every Wutundar; and these rights and privileges, which, from the manner in which they are talked of and maintained, an Englishman might suppose involved the safety of their lives and properties, or the iberty of the subject at the least, are very often merely slight forms of that kind of respect indicated by precedence on particular occasions.

* About the borders of Maharashtra, and the Carnatic, there are a number of Pindharees; they cultivate lands in time of peace, and plunder when the country is unsettled; they have been there for some hundred years; many of them speak Hindoostanee, and call themselves Rajpoots.

causes enumerated, completely undermined the Moghuls, and their power crumbled like the aged and still splendid fabric, which it is impossible to repair, but which a few revolving seasons must level with the ground.

Upwards of a year was spent by the emperor at Beejapoor, during which, success attended his arms in every quarter, and nothing in Sumbhajee's upper country, except the strong forts, remained unsubdued. The Moghul troops had possessed themselves of Tattora, and of the range of forts built by Sivajee, between that place and Panalla; and Aurungzebe was now preparing to enter on a regular plan for reducing the whole of the forts, being in his opinion all that remained to complete the conquest he had so long meditated. His design, however, was soon partially obstructed, by the breaking out of a disease in his camp, which swept off numbers of his troops, but on moving to Auklooj, on the banks of the Neera, it subsided.*

A.D. 1689.

About this period the attention of the emperor was attracted to the English, and in consequence of piracies which began to be committed by in-

* The disease which broke out in Aurungzebe's army at Beejapoor, is mentioned by the same name as that which the natives of India now apply to the spasmodic cholera, but they bore no resemblance to each other. The disease was epidemic, and before it attacked the camp with such violence, had prevailed for some years both in the Deccan and in Guzerat. Khafee Khan describes it as commencing by a slight swelling under the ear, the arm-pit or groin, attended with inflamed eyes, and severe fever. It generally proved fatal in a few hours, and those who did recover, became wholly or partially deaf or blind.

dividuals, several of the factories belonging to the East India Company were seized. This was no uncommon measure for Aurungzebe to adopt when any of the Moghul ships were taken, and he more than once threw the President at Surat into confinement. On the present occasion the Seedee was ordered to drive them from Bombay. Yakoot Khan made a descent upon the island, and possessed himself of Mazagon, Sion, and Mahim, but could make no impression on the fort. The attack, however, continued, until the English appeased Aurungzebe, by the usual expedients of bribes to the courtiers, and the humblest submission. The Seedee quitted the island, after he had remained upon it nearly a year.

After the emperor's arrival at Auklooj, plundering parties of Mahrattas were frequently heard of, but intelligence was received that one very large body had appeared near Nassuck, where the Moghul troops in the neighbourhood were not sufficient to oppose them. The prince Azim Shah was detached with an army to that quarter; a considerable force under Yeatikad Khan, the son of Aurungzebe's prime minister, Assud Khan, was ordered to prepare for the invasion of the Concan; and Tukurrib Khan, an active partisan, who had been a distinguished officer under the unfortunate Abou Hoossein, was sent with a detachment into the district of Kolapoor, of which he was also appointed Foujdar. The Moghul troops were in possession of the open country in that quarter, but the Mahrattas still occupied Panalla with a strong garrison. Tukurrib Khan having on his arrival

taken pains to inform himself of every thing in his neighbourhood, hearing that Sumbhajee spent his time at Sungumeshwur, entirely off his guard, conceived the bold project of seizing his person.

Having procured correct intelligence, and guides well acquainted with the Ghauts and the intricate windings of the route, he chose a few active infantry, and a small party of horse, with which, accompanied by his son, Ikhlass Khan, he set off from Kolapoor in prosecution of his enterprise. He was close upon Sungumeshwur before he was discovered, and when, at last, Sumbhajee's Jasooses ran to him with the intelligence, he was found intoxicated, and told them he would cut their noses off if they dared to bring such insulting stories about the approach of Mussulmans to him.

Ikhlass Khan had given little time for warning; he dashed on at the head of a small party, entered the gate of the Gurhee before the Mahrattas could close it, cut down all who opposed him, and thus secured an entrance to his father.

Most of Sumbhajee's followers saved themselves by a precipitate flight; the few that remained, at the head of whom was Kuloosha, endeavoured to defend their master, but Kuloosha being wounded by an arrow, they were speedily overpowered, and Sumbhajee, although he attempted disguise, was discovered by some valuable ornaments on his person, of which he had not time or presence of mind to divest himself. Besides Kuloosha there were twenty-four persons taken with him.*

* Khafee Khan. Mahratta MSS.

Tukurrib Khan brought his prisoners in safety to Kolapoor, and on reporting his success, was directed to bring them under a strong escort to the imperial camp, which, previous to the arrival of Tukurrib Khan, had moved up the Beema, and cantoned at Tolapoor*, at the junction of the Indooranee river, sixteen miles north-east of Poona.

No effort was made to rescue Sumbhajee; the measures of his favourite, added to his own misconduct, had rendered them both deservedly odious to the generality of his subjects; and even had his army been disposed to undertake any enterprise in his favour, its loose and disordered state would probably have prevented the attempt.

On the arrival of the prisoners in the neighbourhood of the imperial camp, they were bound and exalted upon camels; Sumbhajee was deprived of his turban, drums and all sorts of noisy music sounded before him, and countless thousands flocked on all sides to see his entry into the camp. The prisoners were exhibited before Aurungzebe, and afterwards ordered into confinement, previous to their final sentence.

Some of the Moghul nobility suggested the propriety of sparing the life of Sumbhajee, as a means

* This village, originally called Nagurgaom, is said to have been named Tolapoor, or the place of weighing, in order to commemorate Shahjee's plan of weighing Morar Punt's elephant, by placing him on a boat, marking the draught of water, removing the elephant, replacing his weight with stones, and weighing them. An anecdote preserved in every Mahratta account of him, and recorded by Colonel Wilks.

the imperial camp professing "perpetual obedience and fidelity to Aurungzebe the king of the world," frequently sent their parties to plunder the Moghul districts; and in case of discovery, the Bramin wukeel, who had secured the patronage of some great man at court by bribery, was ready to answer for, or excuse the irregular conduct of his master's followers. The Moghul Foujdars were instructed to conciliate the Mahratta chiefs on condition of their agreeing to serve with fidelity. The chiefs were negociating with the Foujdar; their wukeels were intriguing at court; their own villages were secure; and their followers, under the general name of Mahrattas, were ravaging some other part of the country.

The Moghul officers who had Jagheer assignments in the Deccan, soon found that they could raise very little revenue; their corruption was increased by poverty, and the offenders who had, in the first instance, plundered their districts by purchasing the connivance of the Foujdars, bribed the Jagheerdars at court with a part of the pillage.

The hereditary rights, and the family feuds which had been before usefully applied as an instrument of government, now became, in the general confusion of this period, a great cause of increasing disorder. The intricate nature of some of the hereditary claims in dispute, and the ingenuity of Bramins, who were always the managers, made every case so plausible that the officers of government found little difficulty in excusing, or at least palliating many acts of gross injustice, to which they scandalously lent themselves. Thus,

the rightful owners had often good reason for complaint; they absented themselves with their troops, joined the plunderers, and when induced or compelled to come in, they boldly justified their behaviour by the injustice they had suffered.

When an hereditary office was forfeited, or became vacant in any way, the Moghul government selected a candidate on whom it was conferred; but the established premium of the exchequer was upwards of six and a half years' purchase, or precisely 651 per cent. on one year's emoluments, one fourth of which was made payable at the time of delivering the deeds, and the remainder by instalments; but besides this tax, an infinite number of fees and perquisites were exacted by the clerks, all which lent encouragement to confiscations and new appointments. The emperor increasing in years was soon overwhelmed in more important cares than the mere details of business; his ministers and their underlings were alike negligent and corrupt, and even after deeds and papers were prepared, years elapsed before the orders they contained were put in execution.* In these remarks we have both recurred to events, and in some degree anticipated the consequences of those that are to follow; but such is a correct picture of the times for upwards of twelve years after the fall of Beejapoor and Golcondah. At the end of that period, the effects and continued growth of the

* The account of the state of the country, and Aurungzebe's administration at this period, is taken from Mahratta manuscripts, original Mahratta and Persian letters, deeds and statements, and also from Khafee Khan, and Scott's Deccan.

of inducing his troops to surrender the forts; and Aurungzebe also, with this view, perhaps, did intend to spare him conditionally. But Sumbhajee, roused to a sense of his situation, stung with shame and remorse, expected and wished for nothing but death, and made use of every epithet of abuse to induce some rash soldier to kill him. When in this frame of mind, Aurungzebe sent a message offering him life on condition of his becoming a Mussulman. "Tell the emperor," said Sumbhajee, "that if he will give me his daughter I will become a Mussulman," and concluded his reply by an invective on the prophet.

No words more insulting than that speech could be used to a Mahomedan. The emperor enraged, determined to make a terrible example of him; he ordered a red hot iron to be drawn across his eyes, his tongue to be cut out, and his head to be severed from his body.

Sumbhajee, in exact conformity with this mandate, was publicly executed in the camp bazar at Tolapoor, about the beginning of August, 1689, together with his favourite Kuloosha.* The Bramin minister, however unworthy in many respects, has, by a story characteristic of the invention of Mahomedans, and by the hatred of some of the Mahrattas, been unjustly accused of forming a scheme for betraying his master.

Sumbhajee's character has been sufficiently depicted and scarcely requires a summary. He inherited some military virtue, and was far from de-

* Mahratta MSS. Orme, &c.

ficient in ordinary ability; but dissipation, vice, rashness, and cruelty, completely obscured his few good qualities, and a longer life would, in all probability, have greatly encreased the catalogue of his crimes. But the Mahratta people, though for the last three years much estranged from him, heard of the murder of the son of Sivajee with indignation, and this cruel execution, meant to strike the leaders with terror, aroused their vengeance without alarming their fears.

CHAP. XI.

FROM A. D. 1689, TO A. D. 1707.

Raja Ram. — Meeting of the principal Mahratta leaders at Raigurh. — Raja Ram declared regent, during the minority of Sumbhajee's son. — Important consultations, in which Prillhad Neerajee takes a conspicuous part. — Siege and capture of Raigurh. — The son and widow of Sumbhajee taken. — Merich and Panalla taken. — Raja Ram flees to Ginjee — narrowly escapes, being intercepted — establishes the form of the Court of Sivajee — creates the rank of Pritee Needhee. — Suntajee Ghorepuray and Dhunnajee Jadow sent back to Maharashtra. — Raja Ram ascends the throne. — Zoolfikar Khan sent against Ginjee. — Siege delayed. — Aspect of affairs in the Deccan. — Proceedings of Ramchundur Punt. — Origin of Ghas-dana. Rajgurh and Panalla retaken. — Proceedings of Suntajee and Dhunnajee — and of Aurungzebe. — Ginjee invested. — Supercession of Zoolfikar Khan, by the arrival of Kaum Bukhsh. — Jealousies to which it gives rise. — Aurungzebe fixes his principal cantonment at Brimhapooree. — Portuguese and English. — Suntajee and Dhunnajee repair to the Carnatic — attack the Moghuls with great success — a truce — dissolved by the Emperor. — Siege of Ginjee renewed. — Kasim Khan, with several other officers, compelled by Suntajee to surrender, together with their troops. — Himmut Khan defeated and slain. — Siege of Ginjee pressed. — Raja Ram is permitted to escape. — Ginjee taken. — Dissensions amongst the Mahrattas, which increase in consequence of the death of the Pritee Needhee. — A sedition obliges Suntajee Ghorepuray to flee from his own troops. — Satara becomes the seat of the Mahratta government. — Changes and promotions. — Kanhojee Angria, on the death of Seedojee Goojur, succeeds to the command of the fleet. — Suntajee Ghorepuray basely murdered by Nagojee Manay. — Raja Ram takes the field with a very large army — plunders the country, and imposes the Chouth in Candeish, Gung-thuree, and Berar, leaving officers to collect it. — Zoolfikar Khan recalled from the Carnatic. — New plan of operations — a pursuing and a besieging force. — Zoolfikar Khan

attacks and pursues Raja Ram. — Emperor takes Wussuntgurh — invests Satara — description of its defences — its siege and surrender. — Capture of Purlee. — Distress of the Moghul army, in consequence of the setting in of the monsoon. — Death and character of Raja Ram — his widow Tara Bye assumes the regency. — Pureshram Trimbuck appointed Pritee Needhee. — Mahrattas under Dhunnajee Jadow, and minor chiefs. — Description of a body of Mahratta plunderers, contrasted with the splendour of a Moghul camp. — Great devastations. — State of the Moghuls. — Aurungzebe perseveres in his plan of reducing the forts. — General devastation and confusion. — Weakness of the Moghuls. — Power of the Mahrattas — its nature. — State of feeling in the country. — Moghuls make overtures for an accommodation — broken off. — Aurungzebe quits the neighbourhood of Poona, and moves to the eastward. — Wakinkerah besieged, and finally reduced. — Mahrattas retaking their forts — they attack the grand army on its march. — Emperor in danger of being taken. — Death and character of Aurungzebe.

From the time of the execution of Soyera Bye, the widow of Sivajee, her son Raja Ram had been confined by his half-brother Sumbhajee, in the fort of Raigurh. This confinement does not appear to have been more rigid than Sumbhajee found consistent with his own security. Raja Ram had the free use of the fort, and upon the death of his first wife, Sumbhajee married him to two others, the one named Tara Bye, the other Rajis Bye; the former of the family of Mohitey, the latter a daughter of Ghatgay of Kagul. Raja Ram lived on terms of friendship with Yessoo Bye, the legitimate wife of Sumbhajee, who, with her son Sivajee, resided in Raigurh.

A. D. On the news of Sumbhajee's death, the principal Mahratta leaders repaired to Raigurh, when it was determined in consult-

ation with Yessoo Bye, that Raja Ram should be declared regent, during the minority of Sivajee, afterwards known by the name of Shao, and who was then entering his sixth year. At this council the principal people, besides the parties mentioned, were Jenardin Punt Hunwuntay, Prillhad Neerajee, the son of the late Nyadeish Purdhan, Ramchundur Punt Bowreekur, Khundoo Bullal Chitnees, Mahadajee Naïk Pansumbul, Suntajee Ghorepuray, Dhunnajee Jadow, and Khundee Rao Dhabaray.

Prillhad Neerajee, with that ascendancy which superior minds acquire in times of real difficulty, took the lead in the consultations of this important assembly. They planned their measures with wisdom, unanimity, and firmness. They took a full view of the power, and the preparations of Aurungzebe. They calculated their means of resistance, and saw, without dismay, a public treasury exhausted, the laxity of all discipline, the unprovided state of the forts, and even the probability of their being reduced. Their first endeavours, therefore, were directed to lay in provisions in the forts, and to keep the garrisons as complete as possible. The regulation of Sivajee, which gave the troops composing the garrisons, a perpetual and hereditary subsistence from lands dependant on the forts, was of infinite importance at this period. Orders were immediately issued to preserve these institutions carefully; and the commanders of the forts, in addition to being warned to lay in as much grain as possible, were particularly enjoined to observe the orders for cutting and stacking the grass of

the pasture-lands under the protection of the forts, so as to preserve subsistence for the horse, when forage in more accessible parts might not be procurable. A wise precaution of Sivajee, which had already proved useful during the time of Sumbhajee.

It was resolved that Raja Ram should move about from place to place, along the line of forts from Raigurh to Vishalgurh; but, in order to distract the attention of the Moghuls, to make none of them his fixed residence; and should it be found unsafe for him to remain in Maharashtra, it was settled that he should quit the country, and repair to Ginjee, on the coast of Coromandel.

Yessoo Bye and her son remained in Raigurh, and the family of Raja Ram retired to Vishalgurh. The Mahratta chiefs were to act according to circumstances, but to keep most of their horse for the present at no great distance from the person of Raja Ram.

The Moghul besieging force, under Yeatikad Khan, destined for the Concan, could not enter that country before the fair season. The first place attacked was Raigurh; but the Moghuls, though assisted by the Seedee, made little progress for several months, till a discontented Mahratta, named Sooryajee Peesal, who had served in the army of Sivajee, joined Yeatikad Khan, and engaged to bring a body of choice Mawulees, provided he should be intrusted with the command of them, and obtain the Khan's assistance in getting possession of the hereditary rights of Desh-

mookh of Waee, to which he pretended a claim. These conditions being accepted, Peesal performed his part of the agreement, and the early surrender of the fort was principally ascribed to his exertions. Peesal accompanied Yeatikad Khan, and the Seedee had several of his ancient possessions restored to him.

A. D. 1690.

The widow of Sumbhajee and her son, Sivajee, fell into the hands of Yeatikad Khan; they were conveyed to camp, where the Khan was received with particular distinction, and honored with the title of Zoolfikar Khan. Yessoo Bye and her son found a friend in Begum Sahib, the daughter of Aurungzebe, and the emperor himself became partial to the boy, whom he named Sahoo, an appellation which pronouncing it Shao, he ever after chose to retain.

After the capture of Raigurh, detachments from the grand army advanced to Merich and Panalla, which were surrendered to the Moghuls, and Raja Ram was now advised to make good his way to Ginjee as soon as possible, before his plan of retiring there should be suspected. As preliminary arrangements, he had, by the advice of Prillhad Neerajee, adopted the precaution of appointing Neeloo Punt Moreishwur to his father's situation of Peishwa; a measure which secured Ginjee in his interests. The command of Vishalgurh, Rangna, and all the forts, with full and complete powers of government in the old provinces, was confided to Ramchundur Punt Bowreekur, with the title of Hookmut-punah. Under him was placed Pureshram Trimbuck, a Bramin, who, from the

humble situation of hereditary Koolkurnee of Kinneye, had brought himself into notice, and had given proofs of intelligence and spirit. Seedojee Goojur, dignified with the title of Surkheil, was intrusted with the general command of the fleet, the superintendence of the maritime ports, and the defence of the coast. His second in command was a Mahratta, named Kanhojee Angria, whose father, Tookajee Angria, had early distinguished himself in Sivajee's fleet. The foresight of Prillhad Neerajee, had also been the means of opening a correspondence with all the principal Mankurees, which, although it did not immediately induce them to make common cause against the Moghuls, directed their inclinations to that end.

Mahadajee Naik Pansumbul, an old man who had great weight with the Sillidars of the country, was appointed Senaputtee, and left in Maharashtra. At his recommendation, the different leaders dispersed their horse amongst the villages, with directions to assemble at such place, and by such signal as might afterwards be made to them by the Senaputtee, and that all their friends, brethren, and connections should join the Bhugwa Jenda wherever it might appear.

After shewing himself in his different forts, Raja Ram joined his confidential friends at Rangna, ready to prepare for flight. Having disguised themselves as Lingait Banians, they proceeded to Soonda, and thence across the country, towards

* The orange standard of the Mahrattas. This colour, as already mentioned, is sacred to Mahdeo, and the flag carried religious as well as military feeling along with it.

the opposite coast. The party of Raja Ram on this occasion, consisted of twenty-five persons, and amongst them are found the names of Prillhad Neerajee, Suntajee Ghorepuray, Dhunnajee Jadow, and Khundee Rao Dhabaray. Although the plan was well concerted, Aurungzebe got intelligence of the Raja's flight, and immediate orders were sent to Kasim Khan, Foujdar in the Beejapoor Carnatic, to intercept him. Similar orders were transmitted by Kasim Khan to his friends, and Raja Ram was in great jeopardy in the neighbourhood of Bangalore, where the slight circumstance of having his feet washed by a servant, first attracted attention. The wary observation of Khundoo Bullal discovered that there was a plan for arresting the whole party, and to disappoint the scheme, Khundoo Bullal with the majority of the party, remained cooking their victuals, whilst Raja Ram, Suntajee Ghorepuray, and Dhunnajee Jadow went off by one route, and Prillhad Neerajee with Khundee Rao Dhabaray travelled by another.

Khundoo Bullal and his companions were taken, as had been foreseen: they were examined, confined, and beaten to extort confession, but on their firmly persisting in a preconcerted story, and denying all knowledge of any fugitives from Maharashtra, they were released, and finally joined Raja Ram, who, with the others, had reached Ginjee in safety.

The first news they heard from Maharashtra, was the death of Mahadajee Naik, the Senaputtee: this event, although it disconcerted their measures for the time, was fortunate for the Mahratta cause,

as it brought Suntajee Ghorepuray into immediate power, an officer of much greater ability and enterprize.

The primary care of Raja Ram was to establish a court on the plan of his father, which, though at first little more than nominal, was of much importance in giving consequence to his party.

The Purdhans now appointed were as follow: 1st, Neeloo Punt Moreishwur, Peishwa; 2d, Jenardin Punt Hunwuntay, Amat; 3d, Shunkrajee Mulhar, Suchew; 4th, Ramchundur Trimbuck Poonday, Muntree; 5th, Suntajee Ghorepuray, Senaputtee; 6th, Mahadajee Gudadhur, Somunt; 7th, Neerajee Rowjee, Nyadeish; 8th, Sreekuracharya, Pundit Rao.

The appointment of Peishwa having been previously filled, and Prillhad Neerajee continuing the soul of their cause, a new rank was instituted which raised him above the Purdhans, by the title of *Pritee Needhee*, literally meaning the likeness or representative of the Raja himself. Although Prillhad Neerajee was fond of titles and show, a taste which he probably acquired when envoy on the part of Sivajee at the court of Golcondah, the dignity conferred upon him was entirely unsolicited. Suntajee Ghorepuray, now the oldest representative of the Kapsee family, besides the rank of Senaputtee, was further dignified with some additions to his hereditary titles, and styled Hindoo Rao Mumlukut-Mudar. He was also intrusted with a new standard called the *Juree Putka*, or Golden Pennon; and in imitation of the Imperial officers of the highest rank, he was authorized to

beat the *nobut* or large drum, and assume various other insignia. Dhunnajee Jadow got the title of Jeysing Rao, and in consequence of the demise of Mahadajee Naik, both Suntajee and Dhunnajee were sent back to Maharashtra "to collect men and plunder the Moghuls." *

Raja Ram was formally seated on the throne †, and the new court began to exercise all the forms of government. Gold bangles, clothes, shawls, and letters announcing the event, were secretly forwarded, and pompously presented to all the principal Hindoos throughout Maharashtra ‡, and what is very remarkable, Enams, Jagheers, &c. in the Mahratta country, then in actual possession of the Moghuls, and places which never had belonged to his predecessors were profusely bestowed, but few of them were confirmed § by Raja Ram, or Shao, after they had obtained control over the territory which the Raja thus pretended to alienate. Unsubstantial, however, as such gifts were, they had the effect of strengthening his cause, of keeping

* Mahratta MSS.

† Some of the Mahrattas, jealous of the right of the elder branch, do not admit that Raja Ram ever sat on the throne. They say that he sat on the Gadee, or cushion, merely as regent, holding the powers of the state in trust for his nephew, Shao, then a prisoner in the Moghul camp.

‡ Mahratta MSS. Khafee Khan.

§ In the course of my official duties, after the late conquest of Maharashtra, I have had some of these very deeds, which neither Raja Ram, nor any of his successors admitted, presented, in hopes that they would be recognised by the British government.

alive an interest in it, and of drawing numbers of persons to Ginjee.

A. D. 1691. Arungzebe, as soon as he heard of these proceedings, detached Zoolfikar Khan with a large army into the Carnatic, vainly hoping that he would be able to strike off this last head of the Mahratta power; but the hydra had lost none of its vigour; parties under the name of Mahrattas, though they may have been discharged horsemen from Beejapoor and Golcondah, were this season plundering at Nassuck, Bheer, and Beder at the same time; whilst hundreds of horse, that had shared in the campaigns of Sivajee, were flocking to Suntajee Ghorepuray and Dhunnajee Jadow, the oldest and most popular leaders among them. The want of funds was greatly felt by Suntajee in his attempts to organize a force on the old system, which he never was able fully to effect, but Ramchundur Punt gave him every aid in his power.*

In the exposed state of the Payeen Ghaut, as Prillhad Neerajee considered that Suntajee and Dhunnajee could give more effectual aid to Ginjee by remaining in Maharashtra, he engaged a Mahomedan officer, formerly in the service of Beejapoor, to attempt some opposition on the approach of the Moghuls. The attempt was made, although unsuccessfully, and the officer in question afterwards joined the Moghuls.

In Zoolfikar Khan's army there were a number of Mahrattas, both in the cavalry and infantry. In

* Mahratta MSS.

the latter were the same body of Mawulees that had assisted in the capture of Raigurh *, and among the former there were two of the relations of Raja Ram, Gunnajee and Ranoojee Sirkay, who having deserted to the Moghuls when Annajee Dutto was executed, had attained commands, and were esteemed good officers. The second in command to Zoolfikar Khan in this army, was Daood Khan Punnee †, a Deccan officer of some repute, but notoriously addicted to drinking. The fort of Ginjee consists of several contiguous hills, strongly fortified, and is many miles in circumference. The Moghuls never considered an army capable to undertake a regular siege, unless sufficiently large to surround the place invested, and completely obstruct communication. Zoolfikar Khan, finding his force inadequate for this purpose, after he had commenced some works, represented that a re-inforcement was necessary, and until it should arrive, he left a detachment at Ginjee, and undertook an expedition to the southward, where he levied contributions both from the Rajas of Tanjore and Trichinopoly.

But this requisition for troops was not immediately complied with; the Deccan was far from being

* By the proceedings of a Punchayet respecting the Deshmookhee of Waee, during the early part of the reign of Shao, which may be considered a very authentic and useful manuscript, and is now in possession of the Hindoo Deshmookh, it appears, that Peesal, the Mawulee commander, came over to Raja Ram, during the siege of Gingee, but failing afterwards in obtaining all he wished, again rejoined Aurungzebe, and became a Mussulman to gain his end.

† I believe he was the ancestor of the Nabob of Kurnoul.

in that state which made it easy for Aurungzebe to spare large re-inforcements, without running great risk of having the whole country in a state of insurrection. The depredations of the Naik of Wakinkerah had become so troublesome, that an army, under the prince Kaum Bukhsh and Roh Oolah Khan, was ordered to destroy his town; but they were obliged to besiege it, and came ill-prepared to overcome the defence which was maintained against them.*

A.D. 1692. Ramchundur Punt was as useful in Maharastra, as the Pritee Needhee at Ginjee; he had an excellent second in Pureshram Trimbuck, who used great exertions in restoring the arrangements of the forts, and giving spirit and zeal to the garrisons. Ramchundur moved from place to place, but fixed his principal residence at Satara, where by the aid of his head carcoon, Shunkrajee Narrain Gaudekur, he not only attended to every military disposition, but regulated the revenue, and established some order in the country. He had raised troops of his own, and had cut off several straggling parties of the Moghuls, before Suntajee and Dhunnajee returned; but when they joined him, Ramchundur proposed a plan for surprising the Foujdar at Waee, to which Suntajee, greatly pleased †, immediately consented, took the Foujdar with all his troops prisoners, and established a Mahratta Thanna in the place. The

* Khafee Khan, and Scott's Deccan.

† It is not known what was the stratagem proposed which pleased Suntajee so much, and which he executed so successfully.

mere presence of Suntajee and Dhunnajee animated Ramchundur's followers, and he incited his commanders to follow their example. He sent them out to make their established collections, as the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee were termed, from the Moghul territory; and as they became encouraged by success, his officers added a third contribution, for themselves, under the head of *Ghas-dana* or forage-money. In this manner a distinct army was raised, of which the principal leaders were Powar, Thorat and Atowlay. The commanders received honorary presents and rewards from court, the title of Wiswas Rao was conferred on Powar, Dinker Rao on Thorat, and Shumsher Buhadur on Atowlay. Ramchundur was particularly partial to the Mahratta *dhungurs*, or shepherds, a great number of whom served among his troops, and many of the ancestors of those who afterwards became great chiefs in the empire, began their career under Ramchundur Punt.

Shunkrajee Narrain, hitherto known as an able carcoon, had received charge of the Waee district, and had retaken Rajgurh, which, after the fall of Raigurh, had been surrendered to the Moghuls. A still more important service was performed by Pureshram Trimbuck, who surprised and retook Panalla.

Suntajee headed another attack on the Moghul officer stationed near Merich, against whom he was as successful as at Waee, and Ramchundur, in consequence, by virtue of the powers vested in him, gave him a grant of the Deshmookhee of Merich. As soon as Suntajee and Dhunnajee had collected

a sufficient body of troops, mindful of their object of effecting a diversion in favour of Ginjee, they made their appearance on the banks of the Godavery, which was the only part of the country, where scarcity, from one cause or other, did not prevail. They there plundered and destroyed every thing, and cut off several of the Moghul convoys coming from Hindoostan. Parties were soon sent against them; but Aurungzebe found that he had not ordinary freebooters to suppress; instead of fleeing from his detachments, they defeated three of them successively, took the commander each time prisoner, and, according to a rule invariably observed by Suntajee, exacted a large ransom before they would grant their release. This system was according to Sivajee's general rule, but contrary to his practice; for he took a pride in releasing great men, although he always made what he could by the middling class of prisoners. Suntajee conformed to Sivajee's discipline as far as was practicable, and was particular in obtaining security for the good conduct of his followers, always preferring Mahratta Wutundars to any other class of men. Dhunnajee Jadow was not so strict nor so good an officer as Suntajee, but he was a more popular leader. *

A. D. 1693. Whilst they were thus spreading their ravages to the northward, Aurungzebe shifted his encampment on the banks of the Beema, apparently undecided with respect to his future operations. He at last resolved to support Zoolfikar Khan, and, at all events, reduce Ginjee.

* Mahratta MSS., partly confirmed by Khafee Khan and Scott's Deccan.

The prince Kaum Bukhsh, under the guidance of the prime minister, Assud Khan, was destined for this service. He was directed to leave Roh Oollah Khan at Wakinkerah, the siege of which was afterwards abandoned, and move on the route to Ginjee, where he was soon joined by Assud Khan with a large army. On approaching the Payeen Ghaut parties of horse made their appearance, and by skirmishing delayed their advance, but they finally sat down before the place and invested it.

A. D. 1694. Zoolfikar Khan, on being deprived of the command by the arrival of the prince, was exceedingly mortified, and even Assud Khan, after the late success of his son at Raigurh, considered the supercession unjust on the part of the emperor, particularly as it was well known that it had been brought about by Joudpoorce *, the prince's mother, and the favourite wife of Aurungzebe.

The Mahratta ministers, who, like all Bramins, are ever on the watch for such opportunites, speedily turned this jealousy, which they foresaw would prove reciprocal, to their own advantage. They courted both, but they first gained Zoolfikar Khan, who entered into a secret compact with Raja Ram for the purpose of obstructing the prince's measures, which he did, either by thwarting his plans, where the execution depended on himself, or by preparing

* I had fallen into the mistake of my predecessors, by writing the name Oudepooree; but I learn from my friend Major Tod, the best authority for information respecting the Rajpoots, that she was not a princess of Oudepoor, but of Kishengurh, a minor division of Joudpoor; and that the name, by which she was known, was Joudpooree.

the besieged to counteract every intended operation. *

The emperor, probably conceiving that his army must draw the Mahrattas southward, moved to Gulgulla †; but Ghorepuray still continued to the northward, and Ramchundur's parties levied contributions as far east as Sholapoor. ‡ Aurungzebe, finding his feint unsuccessful, brought back his unwieldy host to Brimhapooree, on the Beema, below Punderpoor, where he established his principal depôt, and built a cantonment, in which he held his court; and from that point, the operations of his armies, and the affairs of his empire, were directed for several years. §

A. D. 1695. The Portuguese about this time had fallen under his displeasure, and war was waged against them in every part where they had settlements in India. Great cruelties were exercised on the defenceless inhabitants subject to that nation in the northern Concan ‖, but numbers found an asylum in their forts of Damaun and Bassein; at last, the Moghul courtiers, bribed by the viceroy at Goa, represented the advantage of making peace with the Portuguese, for the purpose of procuring cannon in order to reduce the Mahratta forts; a sure way to carry their point, as the em-

* Mahratta MSS.

† Khafee Khan. Scott's Deccan.

‡ Mahratta MSS.

§ Mahratta MSS. Original papers. Khafee Khan. Scott's Deccan.

‖ From local usage on the west of India, we are in the habit of applying the designations of northern and southern Concan to the Concan north and south of Bombay.

peror's age and imbecility had become apparent, and to flatter his favourite scheme rendered even the wily Aurungzebe, the dupe of that despicable deceit and artifice, which he had all his life practised on others. A like means was used to pacify him with regard to the English. The ravages of the pirates continued; and as the Moghuls always concluded that one or both the English East India Companies were engaged in these depredations, the emperor, although a considerable revenue was derived from the customs on their trade, would have driven them from the coast, had they not been protected by the fort of Bombay, which, defended by their artillery, was considered impregnable. One capture, that of the Gunj-Suwaee, the largest of the Moghul ships, proceeding from Surat to Mocha with many pilgrims as passengers, gave particular offence, and occasioned the seizure of the chief at Surat, with several other Englishmen, who were imprisoned for a considerable period, until the affair was adjusted.

A.D. 1696.

In the mean time, years had been already wasted before Ginjee. Suntajee Ghorepuray, after committing great havoc, and defeating or eluding all that were opposed to him in Maharashtra, left two active officers, Pursojee Bhonslay*, and Hybut Rao Nimbalkur, both of whom had served under Sivajee, to give spirit to the Mahrattas in Gungthuree and Berar. With an army of upwards of

* He was originally a common Sillidar, and a Wutundar of the village of Dewoor, near Satara, where he was born. This person was the ancestor of the Rajas of Nagpoor. In one manuscript, he is said to have been a native of the village of Hingunberdee, near Poona.

twenty thousand horse, Suntajee passed to the west of the grand camp by the Satara road, pushed on towards the Carnatic, and as soon as he got within a certain distance of Ginjee, detached about one third of his troops, under Dhunnajee Jadow, who, making rapid marches, brought the first news of his approach, by attacking some of the Moghul posts in the neighbourhood of the fort. Orders were immediately issued to the different small divisions to concentrate and form larger bodies to the right and left; but the Moghuls, always slow to obey, were not aware of the activity of the horse that now attacked them, whilst Dhunnajee, assisted both by troops and signals from the fort, cut in upon them and did great execution before the manœuvre ordered could be executed.*

Suntajee Ghorepuray, with less haste, brought on the main body of Mahrattas. Upon his arrival at Covrepauk he was opposed by the Foujdar, Ali Murdan Khan, with a considerable army, but the Foujdar was speedily routed, the whole of his baggage and camp-equipage plundered, and he himself, on his flight towards the camp at Ginjee, was overtaken, made prisoner, and released for a high ransom.

The victorious Mahrattas, with their usual activity when successful, beat in the Moghul outposts in every direction; destroyed their foragers, and so completely cut off their communications, that neither supplies nor intelligence could reach them. Reports of the emperor's illness and death were industriously circulated by the Mahrattas, who

* Scott's Deccan. Khafee Khan. Mahratta MSS.

then made overtures to Kaum Bukhsh, and proposed to make him emperor. The prince either listened to their proposals, or, at all events, Assud Khan, and his son, affected to believe that he did, and they determined on placing him under restraint. The Mahrattas, apprized of what was going forward, taking advantage of the bustle and dissension, which the circumstance naturally created in the Moghul camp, attacked and harassed them with additional vigour. The personal troops of Kaum Bukhsh refused to fight, all became alarm and uproar; at last the Moghuls burst their cannon, abandoned their batteries, and were in turn besieged in their lines.

Whilst in this situation, and in great distress for supplies, a truce was proposed; from which party it originated seems uncertain, but the probability is, that it came from the Moghuls; an agreement, however, was concluded between Assud Khan and Suntajee. The Moghuls were to be permitted to retire to Wandewash unmolested, and to remain until Assud Khan should receive a reply from the emperor, according to which, it was stipulated that he should abide.*

Aurungzebe, foreseeing all the consequences of this ill-advised proceeding, immediately ordered Assud Khan and the prince to the presence, moved with the grand camp to Beejapoor, and directed Zoolfikar Khan to prosecute the war.

But the siege of Ginjee was not immediately renewed. The Mahrattas were accused of not having

* Scott's Deccan. Mahratta MSS.

observed the truce, because they attempted to cut off a convoy of provisions which the Foujdar of Carnatic Beejapoor was escorting to camp, and which he saved by throwing himself into Covrepauk. Their having retaken Permacoil, and several other forts, was still less justifiable; and Zoolfikar Khan, in order to recover these places, and punish the violation of the agreement, marched to the southward, and repossessed himself of the forts. Continuing his march, he entered into an alliance with the Raja of Trichinopoly, and obliged the Raja of Tanjore, one of the sons of Venkajee, to restore several places wrested from the latter, and to pay a considerable contribution to himself; after this arrangement Zoolfikar Khan recrossed the Coleroon and again sat down before Ginjee.*

The clandestine intercourse was still carried on with Raja Ram†; and it is not improbable, from his desire to protract the siege, that Zoolfikar Khan, upon the demise of the emperor, may have had designs of ultimately establishing an independent government in the Carnatic for himself.

During Zoolfikar Khan's absence in Tanjore, Suntajee Ghorepuray laid waste the Beejapoor Carnatic. To punish his depredations, a considerable force was sent off from Beejapoor under different leaders, and being joined by Kasim Khan, Foujdar of the province, the whole were about to march in quest of Suntajee; but their advanced tents had scarcely been pitched when his troops attacked and destroyed the guard, and the Mahrattas were flying

* Scott's Deccan. † Mahratta MSS.

about the main body on all sides, before the great men had time to caparison and mount their elephants.

Kasim Khan's authority did not extend beyond his own troops; the other leaders, as rash as they were destitute of resource, followed their own plans, and each body fought or defended itself as it best could; while the Mahrattas, profiting by their distraction, never ceased harassing them, charging and firing upon them by day, and rocketing them by night. At last, the Moghuls on the third day sought shelter under the walls of the gurhee of Dodairee. There was a small quantity of provisions in the place, which, though sold by the Banians from the top of the walls, at an enormous price, was soon exhausted. This state of privation became intolerable, but they were beaten troops badly commanded, and could not try, by a brave effort, to save themselves. An attempt was made to rescue them, but Suntajee attacked and defeated the party coming to their relief, whilst it was still at a distance, so that the despairing men heard nothing of the effort. In this situation the Moghul officers surrendered. Kasim Khan had served with reputation: he did not survive the disgrace, but took poison and died. The other officers, besides being stripped, had to pay a large ransom for their release, and on their return to the imperial camp, they were divested of their honors, and appointed to distant and inferior commands.*

Himmut Khan, the officer who had made the

* Khafee Khan and Mahratta MSS., partly confirmed by Scott's Deccan.

unsuccessful attempt to relieve Dodairee and the son of Khan Jehan Buhadur, being at his own request, re-enforced from the grand camp by an army sufficient to cope with the Mahrattas, proceeded in search of Suntajee. He was soon found. The Mahrattas, on being vigorously charged on the plain, fled, and Himmut Khan pursued the fugitives, until they had, according to Mahratta custom, drawn him into difficult and broken ground, when they turned round, attacked in their usual desultory manner, killed Himmut Khan, totally defeated his army, and plundered his baggage.

Suntajee retiring towards Ginjee, was attacked by Zoolfikar Khan, and pursued to a considerable distance. When the latter turned to resume the siege, Suntajee attended him a march in the rear.* This manœuvre is not unusual with Mahrattas; in the instance alluded to, however, the pursuit was probably a mere feint, as an intimacy subsisted between Zoolfikar Khan and Suntajee, which there is some reason for suspecting that the rivals of the latter afterwards misrepresented to his prejudice.

A. D. 1697. At Ginjee the same languid operations continued, and the siege at this time would probably have been bloodless, but for the inebriety of Daood Khan, Zoolfikar Khan's lieutenant, who, when intoxicated, always turned out his men to storm the fort and exterminate the infidels†; these fits only produced frequent skirmishes, but the conduct of Zoolfikar Khan, having [illegible] aroused the suspicion of the emperor, the Khan

* Khafee Khan. Scott's Deccan. Mahratta MSS.

† Wilks.

was privately warned by his friends, that unless he speedily effected the reduction of Ginjee, and the capture of all the principal people, no influence could save him from disgrace and ruin. This information the Moghul general communicated to Raja Ram, and as he was now obliged to press the siege, he connived at a plan for the Raja's escape, through his relations the Sirkays, who agreed to convey him safe to Vishalgurh, to take charge of his family, and to join him themselves on the first opportunity, provided they received certain hereditary rights, and the town of Dabul in the Concan, in Enam. All these conditions being settled, Raja Ram, by the assistance of the Sirkays, escaped through the Moghul lines, and reached Vellore, where he was received by Mannajee Moray the commandant. *

After remaining there a short time he set off with his conductors for Vishalgurh, where he safely arrived in December. Ginjee was taken A.D. 1698. early in January. It was carried by escalade †, and the wives and family of Raja Ram, who had joined him from Rajapoor by sea, were, as preconcerted, made over to the Sirkays as their relations, which Zoolfikar Khan permitted on the Sirkays making a public representation of the loss of honour they should sustain, in case of their female relations being exposed unveiled, or given in charge to persons of another cast. They were shortly after conveyed to Maharashtra.

Zoolfikar Khan ordered many of Raja Ram's

* Mahratta MSS., and English Records.

† Khafee Khan, and Scott's Deccan.

people into perpetual confinement; and although he had acted this deceitful part, to screen his treachery from the emperor, many were executed as plunderers and insurgents; amongst others, Naroo Prillhad, the son of Prillhad Neerajee, suffered as a rebel. The Pritee Needhee had died previous to the fall of Ginjee.*

During the preceding year, the main body of the Mahrattas did little against the common enemy. Dissensions had for some time prevailed between Suntajee and Dhunnajee; but by the judicious counsel of the late Pritee Needee, the Raja had long remained neutral in their quarrel, and thus prevented an open rupture. But after the death of Prillhad Neerajee, Raja Ram had no such prudent monitor. He had for some time smothered his jealousy of Suntajee Ghorepuray, which now uncontroled, and worked upon by others, gave Ghorepuray an enemy where he had the best right to expect a protector, and Dhunnajee Jadow, encouraged by the Raja, raised a strong faction against him. Nor did Aurungzebe neglect so favorable an opportunity of practising his favorite policy of creating division among his enemies; he had emissaries among the Mahrattas, who fomented their jealousies, and kept him informed of all that passed.

Suntajee's army was corrupted, and he had but just time to escape with a few followers from a combined attack made upon him by a part of his own, and Dhunnajee Jadow's troops. This sedition happened in the neighbourhood of Beejapoor †, parties

* Mahratta MSS. † Khafee Khan.

were sent in pursuit of Suntajee, whilst the main body of the Mahrattas separated. One half accompanied Dhunnajee Jadow into the Carnatic, where Zoolfikar Khan had lately been exerting himself with great success against the smaller detachments of the Mahrattas, and was very anxious to possess Vellore, which he thought would effectually suppress their power in that quarter. The other half of the Mahratta army marched to join the Raja at Satara, which, at the recommendation of Ramchundur Punt, became the seat of government.*

Jenardin Punt having died, the office of Amat was restored to Ramchundur Punt, from which he had been removed by Sivajee, in 1676, to make room for Rugonath Punt Hunwuntay: his late services eminently entitled him to high honour and reward, and his principal carcoon, Shunkrajee Narrain Gaudekur, was raised to the rank of Suchew, which office had become vacant by the retirement of Shunkrajee Mulhar to Benares, during the siege of Ginjee. The appointment of the new Suchew displeased Pureshram Trimbuck, who conceived his claims to that honour greater than those of Shunkrajee Narrain.

Timmojee Rugonath Hunwuntay, the son of the late Jenardin Punt, having effected his escape from prison at Ginjee, in a very dexterous manner, rejoined Raja Ram, by whom, in consequence of his family pretensions and supposed talents, he was raised to the rank of Pritee Needhee.

* Mahratta MSS.

Seedojee Goojur, who died about this period, had been engaged in constant warfare with the Seedee, and with various success; but, by the activity of Kanhojee Angria, the Mahratta fleet had made many valuable prizes. Vessels of all nations were attacked; repeated descents were made along the coast, and few of the defenceless mercantile towns, from Travancore to Bombay, escaped a visit from these depredators. The Mahrattas continued in possession of most of their forts on the coast; they had maritime depots at Severndroog and Viziadroog, but the principal rendezvous of their fleet continued, as in the time of Sivajee, at Kolabah.* The Sawunts, Deshmookhs of Waree, when their districts were not overrun by the Moghuls, adhered to Raja Ram, but the Dessaye of Carwar continued independent, and, as usual under such circumstances, assumed the titleof Raja.

Suntajee Ghorepuray, whom we left pursued by parties of his enemies, was hunted from place to place, and had hitherto foiled them all; but Nagojee Manay, Deshmookh of Muswar, stimulated by private revenge, continued the pursuit with unrelenting perseverance; until, having overtaken Suntajee in the act of bathing in a small rivulet to refresh himself, at a moment when he thought his enemies far behind, though alone, tired and defenceless, the assassin rushed down and slew him on the spot. Having severed the head from the body he brought it to the skirts of the imperial camp,

* Mahratta MSS. Bombay Records.

and sent it to Aurungzebe. Nagojee shortly after sent a petition for re-admission into the imperial service, which he had entered and quitted in the same manner as all the hereditary officers and Mankurees were in the habit of doing at this period. A free pardon, high encomium, and additional honours were readily bestowed, which proves the acceptable service he had rendered by this murder. Suntajee Ghorepuray was one of the best officers, of whom the Mahratta annals can boast, and his eulogy is best recorded, when we say, he was the terror of the Moghul detachments for seven years.

The death of Suntajee, and the atrocity of the deed brought back many of his followers to a sense of their own ingratitude. His sons Ranoojee and Peerajee, and his nephew Seedojee, who had fled from the army in dread of Dhunnajee, were soon rejoined by a number of Suntajee's followers, on which they erected their family standard, and began to plunder the Moghul territory on their own account. *

A. D. 1699. Raja Ram, after he had remained a short time at Satara, proceeded with his army to the northward, where he was joined by Pursajee Bhonslay, Hybut Rao Nimbalkur, Neemajee Sindia, Atowlay Shumsher Buhadur, and other com-

* Mahratta MSS., and an account of the Ghorepuray family, received from the late Jeswunt Rao Ghorepuray, Umeer Ool Oomrah, which was originally compiled for the late Sir Barry Close. I likewise received a history of the Ghorepuray family, from the late Mr. Thackeray, which I lodged with the Literary Society of Bombay.

manders who had, for some time, been plundering in Candeish, Gungthuree, and Berar. The combined armies, which now formed a greater force than Sivajee had ever commanded, proceeded under Raja Ram, who entered Gungthuree, claiming as his established right, the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee. All who submitted to the payment of these demands were protected, and the Moghul garrisons that remained passive spectators were not molested, but such as made unsuccessful opposition were put to the sword. On this occasion the Mahrattas were more systematic in their exactions than they before had been; where they could not obtain ready money they took promissory notes from the Patells, according to the practice first introduced by Sivajee, and in this manner went on, through Nandere, Berar, and Candeish.

When he had nearly completed his tour, Raja Ram left Khundee Rao Dhabaray in Buglana, Neemajee Sindia in Candeish, Pursajee Bhonslay in Berar, and Hybut Rao Nimbalkur in Gungthuree, to collect, what they termed, the outstanding balances due to the Raja.

Pursajee Bhonslay, when appointed to this duty in Berar, got the title of Sena Sahib Soobeh, and Hybut Rao Nimbulkur was styled Sur Lushkur; both these officers received the Juree Putka, or Golden Pennon, on this occasion. Raja Ram, on his return, attacked Jaulna, which he was plundering, when the Moghul army came suddenly upon him; they attacked and pursued his troops with a vigour and perseverance to which they had of late seldom

been unaccustomed * ; but to account for their activity on this occasion, we must revert to the proceedings of Zoolfikar Khan and Aurungzebe.

In the Carnatic, affairs under Dhunnajee Jadow, had not been prosperous. Zoolfikar Khan, although a corrupt ambitous man, was an active commander, and now the only Moghul officer of whom the Mahrattas stood in any awe. He had repeatedly defeated Dhunnajee, when the emperor, hearing of the march of Raja Ram, sent express orders for Zoolfikar Khan to repair to the cantonment at Brimhapooree. It was then determined, in consultation with Assud Khan, and several of the principal officers, to adopt a new plan of operations, by which, whilst one army attacked the Mahrattas in the field, another was destined for the reduction of their forts. This last the emperor reserved for himself, giving the command of the pursuing army to the Prince Bedar Bukht, the son of Azim Shah, with Zoolfikar Khan as his lieutenant, whose first effort was the attack and pursuit of Raja Ram's army, to which we have just alluded.

The emperor's preparations being completed, the cantonment at Brimhapooree was evacuated, much to the regret of the indolent Moghul officers, many of whom had built excellent houses at that station. A depôt was formed under the protection of the Gurhee of Machnoor, which was within the line of the cantonment, and a strong guard was left for its protection. Aurungzebe's march was nearly due

* Mahratta MSS., and original papers, both in Persian and Mahratta.

west, and he encamped under the fort of Wussuntgurh, on the twentieth day after quitting the Beema. Batteries were erected, and in three days the garrison surrendered. The emperor named the fort *Kuleed-i-futih*, or the key of victory, and was much pleased by the event. As Panalla had been unsuccessfully attacked by Moiz-ud-deen, the son of Sultan Mauzum, some years before, the Mahrattas were impressed with an idea of its being about to be besieged, and directed all their preparations towards its defence. But Aurungzebe marched for Satara, a movement wholly unexpected, as the fort was not provisioned for above two months. This neglect was considered a great misfortune, and gave rise to a suspicion, that Ramchundur had purposely left it unprovided; of this suspicion Aurungzebe afterwards took advantage; and when Ramchundur, during the siege, was called away to Singurh in consequence of the illness of Raja Ram, Aurungzebe wrote a letter* which fell into the hands of Pureshram Trimbuck, and widened a breach that had for some time existed between him and Ramchundur Punt.†

Aurungzebe, on his arrival before Satara, pitched his own tents on the north side of the fort on the site of the present village of Kurinja. Azim Shah was stationed at a village on the west side, which has since retained the name of Shapoor. Shirzee Khan invested the south side, and Turbeeut Khan occupied the eastern quarter; chains of posts be-

* Copy of the original, in possession of the Raja of Kolapoor.

† Mahratta MSS.

tween the different camps effectually secured the blockade. The fort of Satara occupies the summit of a hill of moderate height, but very steep; its defences consist of a scarp of upwards of forty feet in perpendicular black rock, on the top of which there is a stone wall. It was defended by Pryagjee Purvoe, Havildar, who had been reared in the service of Sivajee. He vigorously opposed the Moghuls, and disputed every foot of ground as they pushed forward their advanced posts. As soon as they began to gain any part of the hill he withdrew his troops into the fort, and rolled down huge stones from the rock above, which did great execution, and until they could throw up cover, were as destructive as artillery. The blockade, however, was complete, no communication could be held with the country, and as the small stock of grain in the garrison was soon exhausted, the besieged must have been compelled to surrender; but Pureshram Trimbuck, who had thrown himself into the fort of Purlee, purchased the connivance of Azim Shah, and conveyed provisions to the besieged.*

The divisions on the west and south faces erected batteries, but the grand attack was directed against the north-east angle, which assumes nearly the shape of a tower, and is one of the strongest points: the rock being forty-two feet high, and the bastion, now on the top of it, consists of twenty-five feet of masonry, making a total height of sixty-seven feet.

* Mahratta MSS.

A. D. 1700. Turbeeut Khan undertook to mine this angle, and at the end of four months and a half had completed two mines. So confident were the Moghuls of success that the storming party was ready formed, but concealed, as much as possible, under the brow of the hill, from the view of the garrison. Aurungzebe was invited to view the spectacle, and a stratagem was formed to draw all the garrison towards the bastion, by the emperor's moving off from that side in grand procession, so that when the match was ready to be applied, hundreds of the Mahrattas, attracted by his splendid retinue, crowded to the rampart, and amongst others Pryagjee the commandant. The first mine was fired, it burst several fissures in the rock, and occasioned so violent a concussion, that a great part of the masonry was thrown inwards, and crushed many of the garrison in its ruins. The storming party, in their eagerness, advanced nearer; the match was applied to the train of the second and larger mine, but, being improperly constructed, it burst outwards, with a dreadful explosion, and upwards of two thousand of the Moghuls are said to have been destroyed on the spot. Pryagjee, the Mahratta commandant, was buried in the ruins by the first explosion, close to a temple dedicated to the goddess Bhowanee, but was afterwards dug out alive. His escape was considered a happy omen, and under other circumstances might have been of much consequence in animating the Hindoo garrison to prolong the defence, but Azim Shah could no longer be induced to connive at the transport of the grain; proposals

for surrendering were therefore made through him, and the honor of the capture, which he so ill-merited, was not only assigned to him, but the place received his name, and was called by the emperor Azim Tara.

Satara surrendered about the middle of April, and Purlee was immediately invested; the siege lasted till the beginning of June, when, after a good defence, the garrison evacuated it. The south-west monsoon having set in with all its usual violence, the Moghul army, from a total want of arrangement, was exposed to considerable distress and hardship before the camp could be moved to a distance from the hills. After much loss, both of baggage and of lives, the army reached Kowauspoor, on the banks of the Maun, where the rains are comparatively light.*

In the meantime a great change had taken place in the Mahratta government. Raja Ram, when the Punt Amat was called to see him, had just returned from Jaulna, having experienced a long and fatiguing pursuit from Zoolfikar Khan. He was suffering from a spitting of blood and inflammation of the lungs, brought on by violent exertion during this retreat. After lingering about thirty days, his illness proved mortal: he expired in the fort of Singurh, about the middle of March, a month before the fall of Satara.†

The ruin of Suntajee Ghorepuray is the only

* Khafee Khan, and Mahratta MSS.

† Mahratta MSS. Mr. Orme, who is often on the borders of truth, without being rewarded as his research deserved, mentions this as the manner of Sivajee's death.

crime which stains the memory of Raja Ram. But that alone is of magnitude, and if we admit as an excuse that he was worked upon by the enemies of Suntajee, the weakness of the man but detracts from the virtues of the prince. He possessed some share of the military enterprize of his father, but he had no genius for civil government; his measures were ably directed by Prillhad Neerajee, who appears to have been a very uncommon person, and, in his total disregard of self-interest, is almost a singular instance amongst Bramin statesmen. Raja Ram was naturally mild in his disposition, addicted to no vices, and was distinguished by uncommon liberality to his followers.

The death of Raja Ram, although the news was received in the emperor's camp at Satara with great rejoicing, produced no event favourable to the subjugation of the Mahrattas. The Raja left two sons: the elder, named Sivajee, by Tara Bye Mohitey, was ten years old at the time of his father's death; and the younger, named Sumbhajee, by Rajis Bye Ghatgay, was in his third year.

Tara Bye, with the assistance of Ramchundur Punt Amat, Shunkrajee Narrain, and Dhunnajee Jadow Senaputtee, immediately assumed the reins of government, and her son, Sivajee, having been seated on the gadee, or cushion of state, Rajis Bye, with the general consent, was placed in confinement.

Timmojee Rugonath being found unfit for his high station, Pureshram Trimbuck was raised by Tara Bye to the rank of Pritee Needhee, and received general charge of all the forts. This pre-

ferment excited much jealousy on the part of Ramchundur Punt, who does not appear to have been aware that there were suspicions of his fidelity; but the decided tone and conduct of Tara Bye obliged him to appear reconciled to the measure. Tara Bye did not fix her residence in any fort, but moved about according to circumstances. Dhunnajee Jadow took to the open field: confining his operations to no particular part of the country, he spread his horse in every quarter and performed many signal exploits. Nimbalkur, Bhonslay, and Dhabaray likewise distinguished themselves in the same manner, whilst Thorat, Chowan, Sindia, Powar, Atowlay, and various other chiefs, headed large bodies of troops in different directions, and levied tribute under the various heads of Chouth, Surdeshmookhee, and Ghasdana* : the last mentioned item of Ghasdana was generally considered the personal perquisite of the chief.

Contrasted with the splendour of the Moghul camp already described, we may view the horde accompanying one of these freebooters:—Different from the organized bands of Sivajee, but still more destructive to a country, an irregular assembly of several thousand horsemen, united by preconcerted agreement, in some unfrequented part of the country. They set off with little provision, no baggage except the blanket on their saddles, and no animals but led horses, with bags prepared for the reception of their plunder. If they halted during a part of the night, like the Pindharees of

* Mahratta MSS.

modern times, they slept with their bridles in their hands; if in the day, whilst the horses were fed and refreshed, the men reposed with little or no shelter from the scorching heat, excepting such as might be occasionally found under a bush or a tree; and during that time their swords were laid by their sides, and their spears were generally at their horses' heads stuck in the ground; when halted on a plain, groups of four or five might be seen stretched on the bare earth sound asleep, their bodies exposed to the noon-day sun, and their heads in a cluster, under the precarious shade of a black blanket or tattered horse-cloth extended on the point of their spears. The great object of this class was plunder; and the leaders and their troops, though they generally rendered a partial account to the head of the state, dissipated or embezzled the greater part of their collections.

The Mankurees began to profess obedience to the descendant of Sivajee, and sometimes joined his standard; but they always plundered on their own account when an opportunity offered. The Ghorepurays committed great devastations along the eastern confines of Maharashtra, from the Godavery to the Kistna. The revenues raised by the emperor in the Deccan had become very inconsiderable, and, to support his army and the splendour of his court, he drew vast treasures from Hindoostan; caravans after caravans were poured into the Deccan, — the Mahrattas frequently intercepted them, and the imperial troops on many occasions behaved in the most dastardly manner.

The victories and marches of Zoolfikar Khan,

as detailed in Persian manuscripts, are scarcely credible; but, on the testimony of his enemies, he is justly entitled to very great merit for his indefatigable exertions, at a time when so few of the Moghul officers discovered the smallest talent or energy. Public virtue was unknown amongst them, and they were corrupt, slothful, and indifferent. One cause of this general debasement was the great age and increasing infirmities of the emperor, and the character of his sons. The prospect was full of trouble. Men paused at the threshold of a period which must open with great commotion, and seemed rather inclined to reserve energy for the coming struggle, than to exert themselves in the tiresome endless warfare in which they were engaged.

A. D. 1701. The reign of Aurungzebe, however, was prolonged beyond all expectation, and the old man persevered to the last in his fruitless endeavours to stifle Mahratta independence. During the ensuing four years, he was almost entirely occupied in the siege of the forts, and in that period he successively reduced Panalla, Vishalgurh, Singurh, Poorundhur, Rajgurh, and Torna.*

A. D. 1702. Chundun, Wundun, and Pandoogurh were also surrendered to his officers. But in the meantime, the Mahrattas multiplied. In 1702 they levied contributions from Surat and Burhanpoor, and extended their operations every year.

* Torna was escaladed in the night, and carried sword in hand, by Uman Oolah Khan, the only officer who particularly distinguished himself in these sieges. Khafee Khan says, all the rest of the forts were obtained by bribing the Killidars.

Wherever the demands of Chouth and Surdeshmookhee were promptly acknowledged, they carefully refrained from plundering. In 1705 the emperor received accounts, almost at the same time, of their having crossed the Nerbuddah in great force, and extended their ravages to the heart of Malwa; that the whole of Candeish and Berar were overrun; and that fifteeen thousand Mahrattas had broken into Guzerat *, defeated the troops of the assembled Foujdars, and that nothing appeared but slaughtered soldiers, houseless ryots, and the ripened fields in devastation or flames.

A. D. 1705.

On this intelligence, great preparations were made, Zoolfikar Khan was sent after the body in Malwa, Ghazee-ud-deen was appointed Soobehdar of Berar, and Azim Shah despatched to Ahmedabad to take charge of the government of Guzerat. Each had a considerable army, and it was hoped, from the character of the generals, that these countries would soon be cleared.

But these apparently vigorous efforts of the governmentwere unsubstantial; there was motion and bustle, without zeal or efficacy: the empire was unwieldy, its system relaxed, and its officers were corrupt beyond all example. It was inwardly decayed, and ready to fall to pieces as much by its own irrecoverable weakness, as by the corroding power of the Mahrattas, whom the Mahomedan wars had trained, and their imbecility now allured to that predatory life to which the natives of Maharashtra are prone; as yet, however, their plundering hordes

* Khafee Khan, Scott's Deccan, and Mahratta MSS.

did not comprehend that they were conquerors. A general sentiment pervaded the whole body of Hindoo population in the Mahratta country, but it was not so actively excited as to create a general union, for a purpose so exalted, as that of throwing off a foreign yoke, and vindicating their civil and religious liberties. There was a common sympathy, but there was no common effort; their military spirit was not so much excited by patriotism as by plunder, and those who enjoyed greater advantages under the Moghuls, in consequence of the struggle, than they were likely to do by the establishment of the independence of their country, eagerly desired a continuation of the war.

Many of the Moghul officers, in charge of districts, were in the pay of both parties, and likewise wished that the existing confusion might continue. Parties of Mahrattas in the service of the Moghuls, met, rioted and feasted with their countrymen, and at parting, or when passing within hearing of each other, they used to mock the Mahomedans by uttering an *Ulhumdulillah**, and praying for long life to the glorious Alumgeer.†

* A common exclamation of the Mahomedans, signifying, "Praise be to God."

† Mahratta MSS., and original Mahratta and Persian letters. It is unnecessary to acquaint most of my readers, that Alumgeer, or "Conqueror of the world," was the title assumed by Aurungzebe on his accession, but I have followed the example of my predecessors in Deccan history, and have retained his own name.

The following translation, from an original Persian letter, throws considerable light on the state of the country about this

Upon the reduction of Rajgurh and Torna, the emperor, after halting some months near Joonere, finally quitted the neighbourhood of Poona, of

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period. It bears no date, but from several circumstances, is evidently written when Aurungzebe was besieging Panalla or Vishalgurh. It fell into my hands, amongst several bundles of original Persian letters and papers, belonging to a Bramin's family, and I was at some pains to ascertain its history. The writer of the letter, was a Bramin, who had been very active in assisting the Moghuls to reduce the country in 1688–89. In consequence of his services, he had been dignified with the titles of Raja and Maharaja [1], and appointed to the revenue management of the district of Kuttao. During the absence of Puddajee Ghatgay Deshmookh, who had gone abroad to plunder at the time, this Bramin got temporary charge of the valuable Deshmookhee claims of Boodh and Mullaoree: however, upon the return and submission of the Deshmookh, he lost these advantages, but retained charge of the fort of Booshengurh, the management of that district, and the village of Kuttao, which last, his posterity enjoy in Enam, to this day. Puddajee Ghatgay was placed under his surveillance. This letter, either never sent, or afterwards recovered, is written from Kuttao, to a Moghul officer in charge of the province, but at that time collecting a convoy of grain at Phultun and Barramuttee, to be conveyed to the grand camp.

After compliments: "Your letter has been received, wherein you mention your intention of proceeding to Nubhee Shahdroog (Panalla), and forwarding the grain to camp, and that the Thanna of Mulcapoor has been plundered, of which you desire to have correct intelligence. The same thieves have cut off all supplies from the Thanna of Kurar, by which that place is much distressed. The names of the thieves are, Mahdoo Rao (Pureshram's brother), Tookhoo Mulhar, Sunta Nandhera, Lingoo

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[1] These titles are still enjoyed by his descendants. This Bramin family is the only one in Maharashtra, in which the practice of secluding the women exists.

which place he had also changed the name to Moyabad, and marched towards Beejapoor.

Some of the Moghul officers were anxious to

Manay, Bhala Ghatgay, Shahjee Nimbalkur, and others. They have ten thousand horse, and are now near this place, between Ound and Korygaom. Oosman Khan, who was proceeding from the presence to join you, was furnished by me with one hundred horse, and one hundred infantry, but he has been obliged to remain here (in Kuttao), and cannot advance.

"The thieves find shelter in Mortizabad, and various other districts, from whence they sally forth, and plunder. Once or twice I have sent parties after them, and have cut them up. By the connivance of Foujdars, Jagheerdars, and Krorees, who all share with them, these people are protected. On this head, I have made representations to Court, and have even obtained mace-bearers, and made them produce the stolen articles: these people therefore are all inimical to me. Regarding the thieves, I have further sent for intelligence, and if we are sufficiently strong, you and I can unite, and attack them. Meer Lootf Oolah has written, that your favour is very great towards me, and therefore, it is now generally known that our friendship is great, and of long standing. You must know, that Puddajee, the Thannadar of Boodh, has given his sister to * * * [1], and thus formed a connection with him; he actually went to Ound, when the thieves were there, taking with him Beeroo Bye, the mother of Shao Nimbalkur; they eat out of the same plate together; he was feasted by them, and they by him, for three days, during which they had great rejoicing. It is your province to watch over and guard the king's garrisons. The imperial army is now within twenty kos of us. What will it be when they move to a distance, and what may we not expect? If you do not believe this representation, send your own spies to ascertain the truth of it. Until you seize and confine all such offenders, how can we ever expect to suppress them? You should restore charge of the Boodh and Mullaoree districts

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[1] Indistinct in the original.

negociate a peace; and the favourite son of the emperor, Kaum Bukhsh, whose plans were early directed to the establishment of an independent kingdom at Beejapoor, and who in his views seems always to have had some injudicious scheme of conciliating the Mahrattas, by admitting a part of their claim, now contrived to obtain the emperor's consent for opening a negotiation with Dhunnajee Jadow.

Overtures were first begun by proposals for releasing Shao, the son of Sumbhajee. The negotiation proceeded, and Aurungzebe had, for a few days, been brought to consent to the payment of ten per cent. of the whole revenue of the six Soobhehs of the Deccan, as Surdeshmookhee, for which the Mahrattas were to engage to maintain order with a body of horse. On the news of this concession, the Mahrattas, who notwithstanding their predatory character, are, at all times, exceedingly eager to have any right formally recognised, flocked to Dhunnajee's camp. Their expectations rose with their assembled numbers; but their increasing insolence; their tone changed from supplication to demand; their near approach to the camp, and their stipulating for honorary dresses to seventy principal officers among them, entitled to that

to me, from whence I have been displaced, and if you approve of the application, forward it to Court."

Underneath there is written, evidently a private postscript. "I have had a secret interview with Mahdoo Rao, Pureshram's brother, and I told him, that if Pureshram give up Kelneh, and visit the Emperor, he will certainly be put to death, and that nothing is now to be apprehended, as the rains are at hand. Mahdoo Rao has written this to Pureshram."

distinction from the emperor, led Aurungzebe to suspect treachery as well as insult. He, therefore, broke off the negotiation, and recalled his ambassador, who was attacked soon after he left the Mahratta camp, a circumstance which confirmed the emperor in his opinion. * Aurungzebe seems to have returned to the eastward, from an apprehension that the disorders prevalent in Maharashtra were likely to spread over Telingana and the Carnatic, but although there were partial disorders occasioned by Berads in the one, and Pindharees in the other, the inhabitants of those countries are a very different race, and were less prone to those habits of predatory enterprize, which had long distinguished the natives of Maharashtra. The people of the Carnatic are not unwarlike: in bodily frame, they are at least as robust as the Mahrattas, and at this period a great part of the emperor's infantry were men raised in that country. Banditti, however, started up in various parts, and so daring had their chiefs become, that some of them carried on an open traffic for the goods plundered by their gangs. The independent Mahratta chiefs, particularly the Ghorepurays, had of late years committed constant ravages about Beejapoor, Kulburga, and Beder. † Pemnaik, the Naik of Wakinkerah, although repeatedly compelled by the imperial generals to pay large fines, no sooner saw the Moghul troops retire to a distance, than he recommenced every species of rapine. The Mahrattas maintained a good understanding with this chief, and

* Khafee Khan.

† Scott's Deccan. Khafee Khan. Mahratta MSS.

Dhunnajee Jadow, whilst the emperor was besieging the forts in the Syhadree mountains, lodged his family in Wakinkerah, as affording greater security than any other place. The power of the Naik had become so formidable, that the emperor, after his arrival at Beejapoor, judged it necessary to proceed against him in person. *

Wakinkerah was merely a fortified town, but the siege lasted many months: Pemnaik defended himself with resolution, drove back the Moghul advanced posts, whilst Dhunnajee Jadow perpetually harassed their camp. The imperial officers had become so dastardly, and the troops so shameless, that the mere appearance of Dhunnajee's cavalry made them turn to flight. †

The best officers were at a distance. Zoolfikar Khan was directed to join, and a like order was sent to Daood Khan in the Carnatic. ‡ The former had returned to Aurungabad, after driving Neemajee Sindia from Malwa, and as the Mahrattas had been principally employed to the northward, the Carnatic had not been infested by large bodies of them for several years. The important fortress of Vellore was surrendered in 1704, by Mannajee Moray to Daood Khan §, for which Moray was

* Khafee Khan. Scott's Deccan.

† The Mahrattas say, that when a horse refused to drink, and started at his own shadow, it was a common joke amongst the Moghuls, to ask him why he was afraid, "One would think you saw Dhunnajee in the water." This anecdote is recorded by Mr. Scott Waring.

‡ Scott's Deccan. Khafee Khan.

§ Original Firman from Aurungzebe to Mannajee Moray, in possession of his descendants.

promised a Munsub by the emperor, but he never came to demand it, having on his return to Maharashtra, gone off to join his countrymen. Daood Khan left Sadut Oolla Khan as his Naik or deputy in both Carnatics, and arrived in the emperor's camp shortly after Zoolfikar Khan. They were both officers of courage and experience, they attacked the place with resolution, and the town of Wakinkerah was evacuated, after the environs had been stormed and taken, with heavy loss on both sides. *

The Mahrattas, in the meantime, were plundering the open country in every direction, Ramchundur, Punt Amat, had particularly distinguished himself by retaking Panalla and Pawungurh by escalade. Tara Bye, on this event, determined to reside at Panalla, and admitted Ramchundur Punt to a very large share of power. Pureshram Trimbuck, the Pritee Needhee, had retaken Wussuntgurh and Satara. The latter was surprised by the artifice of a Bramin named Annajee Punt. This man had escaped from prison at Ginjee, and assumed the character of a mendicant devotee. Having fallen in with a party of Moghul infantry marching to relieve the garrison of Satara, he amused them with stories and songs, obtained alms from them, and so ingratiated himself with all, that they brought him with them, admitted him into the fort, and, on account of the amusement he afforded, allowed him to live there. Annajee Punt had formerly been a carcoon of Mawulee infantry, and soon saw the practicabi-

* Khafee Khan. Scott's Deccan.

lity of surprising the place, if assisted by a few of his old acquaintances. He patiently watched his opportunity, informed Pureshram Trimbuck of his design, and having introduced a body of Mawulees into the fort, the enterprising, but remorseless Bramin put every man of the garrison to the sword.

Shunkrajee Narrain Suchew did not remain inactive; as soon as the Moghul troops withdrew from that part of the country, of which he was the chief manager, he retook Singurh, Rajgurh, Rohira, and some other places. The Moghul garrisons were composed of a large proportion of Carnatic infantry; and these men, latterly, could not be brought to stand the onset of the Mawulees.

The loss of these forts, particularly Singurh and Panalla, gave Aurungzebe great vexation, and augmented an illness under which he laboured, and from which he recovered very slowly.

Zoolfikar Khan was sent to retake Singurh, and previous to his departure, the emperor committed Shao to his charge. Zoolfikar Khan, partly from hatred to Kaum Bukhsh, bitterly inveighed against the overtures that had been made for peace, and Aurungzebe was equally conscious of the error; yet, with some design of releasing Shao, he had now recourse to the half-measure of causing letters to be written to the Mahrattas from Shao as their lawful prince, inviting them to submit. Had he released him at once, a division would probably have taken place amongst the Mahrattas. Under any circumstances, the other expedient was unwise, but particularly inconsistent in Aurungzebe, as it was, in effect, acknowledging the legitimacy of Sivajee's

government, and consequently admitting the injustice of Sumbhajee's execution. The result was, as might have been expected, of no avail.

Zoolfikar Khan was successful in obtaining possession of Singurh, owing to the want of supplies; but as soon as he retired, it was as speedily retaken by Shunkrajee Narrain, from the same cause. The grand army moving towards Ahmednugur, was attacked by the Mahrattas on the march, a great part of it was defeated, and had the Mahrattas improved an advantage which they gained, the emperor of the Moghuls, their inveterate foe, Aurungzebe, would have been a prisoner in their hands. It is curious to observe how the Moghul writers undesignedly record their own humiliation on this occasion, by dwelling upon this fortunate escape with abundant self-congratulation. The character of the imperial army was in some degree retrieved by the gallant charge of Khan Alum, a brave officer, whom, under the name of Ikhlass Khan, we have seen so active at the capture of Sumbhajee.

A.D. 1707. Aurungzebe arrived at Ahmednugur, and on pitching his camp on the same spot which it had occupied in such splendour twenty-one years before, he predicted that his end was near, by observing that he had this day finished his campaigns, and that his last earthly journey was completed. The contrast between his former and his present circumstances, is remarkable; but when we also reflect on the intervening events, we have not merely a striking picture, but a curious history of the growth of predatory power, and of the means by which it was nurtured. Aurungzebe

had only three surviving sons, Sultan Mauzum, or Shah Alum, governor of Cabul, Azim Shah, and Kaum Bukhsh. Azim Shah joined his father at this period, and was appointed to the government of Malwa; Kaum Bukhsh, was appointed to Beejapoor, and was immediately sent to take charge of his new government.

In the meantime, Zoolfikar Khan, who continued pursuing and attacking the Mahrattas, had gone off across the Kistna to aid the son and nephew of his old opponent Suntajee Ghorepuray, who had been attacked by Dhunnajee Jadow, in consequence of their having plundered in some of Tara Bye's districts; Zoolfikar Khan had assisted the Ghorepurays, and driven off Dhunnajee, when news reached him that the emperor had died at Ahmednugur on the 28th Zeekaad, A. H. 1118, Feb. 21. (or 21st February 1707.) He therefore immediately suspended operations, and marched with all expedition to join the Deccan army, which fell under the command of Azim Shah, the prince nearest to the grand camp.

In regard to the character of Aurungzebe, the facts connected with the rise of the Mahrattas are sufficient to prove, that from the time he usurped the throne, there is nothing in his conduct which deserves the high encomium which has in general been bestowed on his talents and government. Previous to his elevation, he displayed very considerable ability; together with an iniquity almost unparalleled. His boundless ambition was concealed by deep dissimulation, and his boldness was equal to his hypocrisy. His success in placing

the diadem of Hindoostan on his own head, after overcoming his powerful rivals; his literary acquirements; his attention to business; and the simplicity of his personal habits, amidst a court so remarkable for splendour and magnificence, gave a tone to general opinion amongst his contemporaries, which his subsequent misconduct and misrule could not entirely efface. He was ambitious of a character for wisdom; and his low craft and mean policy are partly ascribable to this weakness. His greatest political error was the overthrow of Beejapoor and Golcondah, instead of applying their resources to the suppression of predatory power. His suspicion and bigotry, his presumption and obstinacy, alike tended to prevent the tranquillization of that tumult, of which his own measures were a principal cause; whilst his pomp weakened the efficiency of his armies, and exhausted the finances which should have maintained his wars.

CHAP. XII.

FROM A. D. 1707, TO A. D. 1720.

Shao — origin of the name — he is released. — Tara Bye declares him an impostor, and disputes his pretensions. — Origin of the Rajas of Akulkote. — Shao obtains possession of Satara — ascends the throne. — Origin of the celebrated Ballajee Wishwanath. — Proceedings of the Moghuls. — Shao's progress. — War with Tara Bye. — Agreement with Daood Khan. — Death of Dhunnajee Jadow. — Tara Bye recovers Panalla, and establishes her court at Kolapoor. — Death of Sivajee. — Accession of Sumbhajee, and confinement of Tara Bye. — Advantages secured to Shao by the death of the Punt Suchew. — Dissolution of the agreement with the Moghuls. — Mahrattas under Chunder Seyn Jadow proceed to collect their dues. — A trifling dispute, between Chunder Seyn Jadow and Ballajee Wishwanath, leads to important consequences. — Ballajee is protected by Shao. — Jadow retires to Kolapoor, and afterwards joins the Moghuls. — Origin of Nizam Ool Moolk — is appointed viceroy of the Deccan. — War with the Moghuls. — After a battle, the Mahrattas retreat to the Salpee Ghaut — accommodation. — Disturbances. — A daring robbery, supposed to be committed by Khundee Rao Dhabaray — who establishes himself near Rajpeeplee. — Nizam Ool Moolk favours the Kolapoor party. — Seedojee Ghorepuray declares for Sumbhajee, and is made Senaputtee at Kolapoor — obtains possession of Sondoor. — Great confusion and anarchy. — Ballajee Wishwanath is treacherously made prisoner by Dummajee Thorat — and ransomed. — Success of Ballajee Wishwanath against Kishen Rao Kuttaokur. — Defeat of Byhroo Punt Pingley Peishwa, by Kanhojee Angria. — Alarming progress of Angria. — Ballajee Wishwanath effects a favourable arrangement with him, and is made Peishwa — obtains possession of Poorundhur for himself — reduces Thorat — establishes order in the Poona district. — Improvement in the aspect of Mahratta

affairs — allusion to the extraordinary expansion of their power, from about this period — and to the Bramin scheme for creating union amongst the Mahratta chiefs. — Character of Shao. — The Emperor Ferokhsere conciliates the Mahrattas. — Hoosein Ally Khan appointed viceroy of the Deccan — is opposed by Daood Khan, who is killed. — Zoolfikar Beg defeated by Khundee Rao Dhabaray. — Battle near Ahmednugur. — Dhabaray is made Senaputtee. — Ferokhsere encourages the Mahrattas to resist the viceroy — the latter negociates with the Mahrattas — concludes a treaty with Shao — marches, supported by a large body of Mahrattas to Delhi. — Ferokhsere deposed, and Mohummud Shah raised to the imperial dignity. — The famous grants for the Chouth, Surdeshmookhee, and Swuraje delivered to Ballajee Wishwanath — who, accompanied by Khundee Rao Dhabaray returns to Satara. — Scheme of the arbitrary division of Mahratta revenue — explained — distributed. — Officers appointed to the general superintendence of particular parts of the country. — Kanhojee Angria. — Mahratta chiefs have assignments of revenue within the districts of each other. — Eager desire of all to possess, and to maintain hereditary rights in their native villages.

A. D. 1707. It has been already mentioned, that upon the fall of Raigurh, the widow and son of Sumbhajee were carried prisoners to the imperial camp. They were received within the enclosure of the royal tents, and at the request of Begum Sahib, the emperor's daughter, a place was assigned to them near herself, and she continued to show them unremitting kindness during many years of captivity. The boy was at first constantly with her, and Aurungzebe, during his visits to his daughter, took much notice of him. Shao's original name was Sivajee, but that by which he afterwards became known was a familiar name given him by Aurungzebe, and his choosing to

retain it in preference to that of his renowned grandfather, is as remarkable* as that our English appellation of "*the Sahoo Raja,*" meaning the sovereign of the Mahratta nation, applied from his long reign to Shao's successors as well as to himself, should have had its origin, in an unbecoming pun of the emperor Aurungzebe. The attendants who followed the family into captivity, were allowed to communicate with the Mahrattas in the Moghul army; an indulgence which did not extend to Shao, his mother, or to Muddun Sing, the illegitimate son of Sumbhajee, also made captive at Raigurh. Every kind of intercourse with the Mahrattas in rebellion, was, to all the family and their followers, most strictly forbidden.

Yessoo Bye was a woman of much prudence, and carefully avoided intrigues. When Aurungzebe began to revolve the scheme of releasing Shao, he proposed to marry him to the daughters of two of the most distinguished Mahrattas in the imperial service, and to secure them in his interests by additional favours; these were, Jadow of Sindkheir, to whom the emperor had given the title of Roostum Rao; and Sindia, Patell of Kunneirkheir†, whose illegitimate offspring, as heads of a

* The more remarkable, because reflectively it was an insult, and at best, a very coarse joke. It is either much for, or against the emperor's bon-mot, that a corresponding word is not easily found in English. *Sahoo* means the reverse of thief, and was used in allusion to Shao's father and grandfather, of whom Aurungzebe seldom spoke, but as *the thief, the robber,* &c.

† Mahratta MSS. In this chapter, the English reader will find a more than usual number of harsh names, which he may be

Mahratta principality, are well known in the modern transactions of India. Shao was connected with Jadow by the mother's side, and the proposal being agreeable to all parties, the nuptials were celebrated in a respectable manner, but without pomp; and the emperor, besides conferring favors on Jadow and Sindia, bestowed on Shao the districts of Akulkote, Indapoor, Sopa, and Neywassa, in Jagheer. On this occasion, Aurungzebe, amongst other presents to Shao, gave him a sword he had himself frequently worn, and restored two swords which Shao's attendants had always urged him, if possible, to recover; the one, was the famous Bhowanee of Sivajee; and the other, the sword of Afzool Khan, the murdered general of Beejapoor, both taken at Raigurh.*

But Aurungzebe, as we have seen, could not resolve on giving effect to this plan, and after his death, Shao continued in the camp of Azim Shah, and was, by that prince, carried to a considerable distance beyond the Nerbuddah, when on his march, at the head of the army lately employed in the Deccan, to contend for the throne with his brother, Sultan Mauzum, who was advancing from Lahore. †

Tara Bye, and her ministers, improved the opportunity which the absence of the main body of the Moghul army afforded. Dhunnajee Jadow

inclined to think might have been omitted with advantage, but they will, in most instances, deserve attention, as those of the ancestors of the principal Mahratta chiefs.

* All the three swords are in possession of the Raja of Satara.

† Khafee Khan.

defeated Lodi Khan, the Foujdar of Poona, retook Chakun, and the Mahrattas were rapidly occupying as well as plundering the country, when Azim Shah, by the advice of Zoolfikar Khan, determined to release Shao, but to retain his mother, brother, and family as hostages for his good conduct; promising, however, that in case he should succeed in establishing his authority, and continue stedfast in attachment and allegiance, he should receive the tract conquered by his grandfather from Beejapoor, with an additional territory between the Beema and Godavery. *

Shao sent forward one of his attendants, personally known to Pursojee Bhonslay and Chimmajee Damoodhur, then at the head of some Mahratta troops in Berar and Candeish, for the purpose of announcing his approach and soliciting their assistance. They immediately joined him, and their example was soon followed by Hybut Rao Nimbalkur, Neemajee Sindia, and other chiefs. Letters, intimating his approach, were dispatched by Shao to Tara Bye, but as she did not choose to relinquish a power she had so long held, or renounce her son's pretensions to the sovereignty, she affected to believe him an impostor, assembled the whole of her ministers, declared her intention of opposing this pretender, and called upon all the principal officers to attest their fidelity to the cause of her son by the most solemn oaths. On their compliance, she appointed Ramchundur Punt, and Neeloo Punt, to assist her with their counsel;

* Mahratta MSS.

Dhunnajee Jadow, and Pureshram Trimbuck to command in the field; Shunkrajee Narrain to defend the Ghaut Mahta; and Kanhojee Angria, Sur Kheil, who had been appointed by Raja Ram to the command of the fleet, upon the death of Seedojee Goojur, was placed in charge of the coast. Poond Sawunt, of Waree, also sent assurances of fidelity to Tara Bye.

Shao, on hearing of these proceedings, halted at the Godavery, in hopes of being able to dispel any opinion there might really exist of his being an impostor; but his army having increased to fifteen thousand men, he determined, by the advice of Pursojee Bhonslay, to move foward without farther delay. Dhunnajee Jadow and the Pritee Needhee advanced to oppose him. The people of the country seemed inclined to the cause of Tara Bye; and one village had the audacity to fire on his troops. Several of his men being killed, the place was assaulted, and a severe example made of the offenders. During the attack, a woman bearing a boy in her arms rushed towards Shao, and threw down the child, calling out that she devoted him to the Raja's service. Shao took charge of him, and in commemoration of his first success, called him Futih* Sing, to which he afterwards added his own surname of Bhonslay, and always treated him like his own son. Such was the extraordinary origin of the Rajas of Akulkote.

As the armies drew near to each other, means were successfully employed to detach Dhunnajee

* Futih means victory. The child's father's name was Lokhunday.

Jadow from the cause of Tara Bye; and the Pritee Needhee, finding he was not supported in an action which took place at the village of Kheyr, twenty-two miles north of Poona, withdrew from Dhunnajee's troops and fled to Satara. Shao, joined by Dhunnajee, advanced to Chundun Wundun, of which he obtained possession. He seized the families of all persons acting against him; sent a summons to Shunkrajee Narrain, Punt Suchew, to deliver up Poorundhur, which he had taken a short time before, and an order to Pureshram Trimbuck to surrender Satara; neither of them obeyed; but Shaik Meerah, a Mahomedan officer who commanded under the latter, confined him, and gave up the fort.

A. D. 1708. Shao, on obtaining possession of Satara, formally seated himself on the throne, in the month of March, 1708. Gudadhur Prillhad was appointed Pritee Needhee, and Byhroo Punt Pingley was made Peishwa. The brother of Byhroo Punt, Neeloo Punt Moreishwur, who still adhered to Tara Bye, died shortly after at Rangna. Dhunnajee Jadow was confirmed in his rank of Senaputtee, and the right of making collections in several districts was delegated to him. At this period of confusion the revenue was realized on no fixed principle, but levied as opportunity presented itself in the manner of contribution. The principal carcoons employed by Dhunnajee in revenue affairs, were Abbajee Poorundhuree*, Koolkurnee of Sassoor (Sasswur), near Poona, and

* The ancestor of the present great family of Poorundhuree.

another Bramin, Koolkurnee of Sreewurdun, in the district of Choule, a village then claimed by the Seedee, from which, in consequence of some intrigue connected with the Seedee's enemy Angria, he had fled to Sassoor, and had been recommended to Dhunnajee Jadow by Abbajee Poorundhuree, and Pureshram Trimbuck. The name of this Koolkurnee, afterwards so celebrated as the founder of the Peishwa's power, was Ballajee Wishwanath Bhutt.*

Meanwhile the two eldest sons of Aurungzebe, Sultan Mauzum, and Azim Shah, had fought a bloody battle near Agra, in which Sultan Mauzum was victorious. The army from the Deccan, commanded by Azim Shah, engaged under great disadvantages, owing to the pertinacity of that headstrong prince, who, at least accelerated discomfiture by his want of preparation, and by his neglect of arrangement among his troops. He paid the forfeit of his obstinacy with his life. There fell with him, his two sons, together with Turbeeut Khan, Dulput Rao Boondelay, Ram Sing Harra, the gallant Khan Alum, and a great proportion of the officers experienced or distinguished in Mahratta warfare.

Kaum Bukhsh, who was sent to Beejapoor by Aurungzebe a few days before his death, assumed

* Mahratta MSS. It is proper to mention, that among Mahratta Bramins, Bhutt and Grehust, in speaking of their own cast, are nearly synonimous with clerical and secular. Custom has introduced this distinction. Bhutt, however, in the text, was merely the surname of Ballajee Wishwanath, not a religious appellation.

the ensigns of royalty, and declared himself emperor upon the demise of his father; his authority was at first acknowledged, but having no stability of character, he was soon deserted by most of his troops; he first endeavoured to conciliate the Mahratta Mankurees, who showed some disposition to listen to his overtures, but they were soon disgusted with his petulance and folly. Sultan Mauzum, who had used his victory with moderation, and was now on his march to the Deccan, generously offered him the kingdoms of Hyderabad and Beejapoor; but Kaum Bukhsh preferred the desperate chance of encountering the whole army of Hindoostan, and was killed near Hyderabad, in an attack made upon him by his old and inveterate enemy Zoolfikar Khan, who was joined on the occasion by a body of Mahrattas, sent by Shao, under the command of Neemajee Sindia.*

The affairs of Kaum Bukhsh were considered so desperate, that after he had refused the offer made by Sultan Mauzum, it was conjectured that he intended to follow the example of his uncle, Sultan Mohummud Akber, and retire to Persia; orders were sent to all the seaports to intercept him, and two lacks of rupees, with an extension of the company's privileges, were promised by Zoolfikar Khan to Mr. Pitt, governor of Madras, if he would apprehend the fugitive. To this Mr. Pitt agreed, but refused the present. †

* Khafee Khan. Memoirs of Eradut Khan. Original letter from Zoolfikar Khan to Shao.

† Original letters from the Madras Records. This Mr. Pitt was the father of Lord Chatham.

Zoolfikar Khan, who was in the army of Azim Shah in the battle of Agra, after supporting his reputation as an officer, escaped from the field, and Sultan Mauzum, by the advice of his excellent minister, Monaim Khan, not only pardoned, but promoted him to high rank; conferring on him the viceroyalty of the Deccan, and the title of Umeer Ool Oomrah. By Zoolfikar Khan's representations, Sultan Mauzum at first lent his countenance to Shao's party, which tended to increase the Raja's consequence amongst his countrymen,* and would have been followed by more substantial advantages in a formal grant of the Surdeshmookhee, but Monaim Khan, unused to Bramin artifice, having been visited by the Wukeels of Tara Bye, was persuaded by them that Tara Bye's son, Sivajee, was the lawful Raja of the Mahrattas. Zoolfikar Khan, impatient at his listening to these pretensions, betrayed an irritation which the minister resented, and Sultan Mauzum, unwilling to disoblige Monaim Khan, and at the same time not displeased to find an excuse for deferring such a concession, seemed to comply with the minister's proposal in favour of Sivajee, and desired that the deeds for the Surdeshmookhee should be made out in his name; he, however, postponed their delivery until the claim to the Mahratta supremacy should be decided, by the issue of the contest which was then in progress between the candidates.*

Shao's army was cantoned at Chundun Wundun, in the neighbourhood of Satara, during the mon-

* Khafee Khan.

soon, and he neglected no preparation to enable him to reduce his rival. Amongst other expedients, he made an unsuccessful application to Sir Nicholas Waite, the governor of Bombay, for a supply of guns, ammunition, European soldiers, and money.* At the opening of the fair season, after celebrating the Dussera, preparations were made to renew the war against Tara Bye. Panalla was invested, the siege pressed with vigour, and the Havildar who commanded, offered to surrender on condition of being confirmed in his station. This proposal was readily acceded to, and Vishalgurh was surrendered by the agent of Pure-
A. D. 1709. shram Trimbuck on the same terms. Shao next marched towards Rangna, where Tara Bye then was, but hearing of the approach of the army, she quitted Rangna and fled to Malwan. The Havildar of Rangna refused to surrender, and opposed the besiegers with resolution; an assault was made and repulsed, and Shao, on the approach of the monsoon, abandoning the siege, retired to Kolapoor where he cantoned the troops. †

At the opening of the fair season, it was intended to prosecute the war, but about that time, an agreement was entered into with the Moghuls, which waved the grand question of hereditary claim, and rendered the reduction of Tara Bye a point of less pressing personal interest to Shao. Zoolfikar Khan, who attended the court of Sultan Mauzum on his return to Hindoostan, left Daood Khan Punnee as his deputy in the six Soobehs of the Dec-

* Bruce's Annals. † Mahratta MSS.

can, and obtained for him the government of Burhanpoor in addition to his other appointment. Daood Khan settled with such Mahratta chiefs, as acknowledged Shao's authority, to allow them, with certain reservations, one fourth of the revenue, but reserved the right of collecting and paying it through his own agents. Daood Khan's intimacy with most of the Mahratta chiefs, his connection with Zoolfikar Khan, and the terms of friendship between the latter and Shao, not only preserved Shao's ascendancy, but, except in instances where independent plundering bands occasionally appeared, procured a tolerably correct observance of the terms mentioned. *

In the end of the year Shao returned to Satara, and married two wives, one of the Mohitey, and another of the Sirkay family. His other two wives were still with his mother at Delhi, where one of them, the daughter of Sindia, shortly afterwards died. Dhunnajee Jadow, after a long illness, caused by the breaking out of an old wound in his leg, died on his way from Kolapoor, on the banks of the Warna. His carcoon, Ballajee Wishwanath had accompanied him on that service, and during his sickness had the management of all his affairs, which created an unconquerable jealousy on the part of Chunder Seyn Jadow, Dhunnajee's son, and several Bramins in his service.

A. D. 1710. The army had scarcely returned to Satara when Tara Bye, encouraged by the Havildar at Panalla, marched towards that place

* Khafee Khan.

reenforced by the troops of Poond Sawunt, and it was immediately restored to her. It was now resolved, in order to give her party credit, and the appearence of a rising cause, to make that fort and the neighbouring town of Kolapoor the future residence of her court. Ramchundur Punt continued stedfast in the interest of her party, and Shunkrajee Narrain, likewise maintained her cause.

A. D. 1711. As the territory of the latter was reckoned the foundation stone of the empire, from Sivajee's having first established himself there, Shao determined to reduce the Suchew instead of renewing the attack on Panalla. About this time he entertained the design of removing his capital to Ahmednugur, but as it gave offence to Zoolfikar Khan, Shao, at his desire, relinquished the intention. *

An army proceeded towards Poona, and succeeded in obtaining possession of Rajgurh, but most of the Suchew's forts being well stored with provisions, and garrisoned by veteran Mawulees, were reckoned impregnable. It was, therefore, with no small satisfaction that Shao heard of his having put a period to his existence,† an act which it is said he committed from remorse, in conse-

* Original letters from Zoolfikar Khan.

† He performed the *Jul Sumadh*, or voluntary death by water, which is not uncommon among Hindoo devotees. It is effected by placing a wooden platform upon several earthen pots, with their mouths turned down, to which the planks are fastened, and small holes are bored in the earthen vessels; the whole is placed on deep water, on some river accounted holy, and the devotee seats or ties himself on the platform, which gradually sinks with him.

quence of having taken a solemn oath, to maintain the cause of Tara Bye, against his lawful prince.

A. D. 1712. Just at this time, in the month of January, Sivajee, the son of Tara Bye died of the small-pox. This prince was an idiot, but his death occasioned a considerable change at Kolapoor. Ramchundur Punt seized the opportunity to remove Tara Bye from the administration, and to place Sumbhajee, the son of Rajis Bye, the younger widow of Raja Ram, in her stead; a measure, which had the sanction of Hindoo usage, and was therefore supported by common consent. Tara Bye, and Bhowanee Bye, her son's widow, said to have been pregnant at the time of her husband's death, were put into confinement, and Ramchundur Punt, unfettered by Tara Bye, began to exert himself with renovated vigour.

But Shao, whilst Daood Khan's government continued, was secured in the ascendancy; he was also surrounded by most of the experienced ministers, and was totally exempt from that cruelty and excess, which his enemies gave out that he inherited, with many other vices, from his father Sumbhajee. The loss of Shunkrajee Narrain was a severe blow to the cause of the opposite party, and Shao, in that temper of conciliation, for which he is deservedly applauded, seized the advantage which the sanction of lawful authority always bears, and immediately despatched clothes of investiture to Narroo Shunker, son of the late Suchew, then a child of two years old; at the same time confirming, as a matter of course, his mootaliq, or principal agent, in that situation. This measure immediately secured to

him the services of that party, and the Suchew never afterwards departed from his allegiance. Shao was not equally successful in binding all the members of the Pritee Needhee's family to his interest.

A. D. 1713. He released Pureshram Trimbuck, restored his honors by the removal of Gudadhur Prillhad, and confirmed him in his former charge of Vishalgurh and its dependancies. The Pritee Needhee sent his eldest son, Kistnajee Bhaskur, to assume the management of the fort and district; but he had no sooner obtained possession, than he revolted, tendered his services to Sumbhajee, and was made Pritee Needhee, at Kolapoor. On this defection Pureshram Trimbuck was again thrown into confinement, and Shao, under a belief that the revolt had been encouraged by him, intended to have put him to death, but he was dissuaded from this design, which, even if just, would have made him odious in the country.

In consequence of changes at the Imperial court, Daood Khan was removed to the government of Guzerat, which dissolved the agreement between the Moghuls and the Mahrattas.

Chunder Seyn Jadow, who had been appointed Senaputtee on the demise of his father, was sent off from Satara with a considerable army, and directed to levy the Chouth, Surdeshmookhee and Ghas-dana from the Moghul districts. He was attended on this occasion by his father's carcoon, Ballajee Wishwanath, who was now charged with collecting and appropriating a share of the revenue for the Raja, a situation of control, which under no circumstances was likely

to be favorably viewed by the Senaputtee. The jealousy formerly entertained was increased tenfold, and on a very slight cause, arising from a dispute about a deer run down by one of Ballajee's horsemen, the suppressed enmity burst out in attempted violence; and Ballajee was obliged to flee for his life, first to Sassoor, where the Suchew's agent in Poorundhur did not think it prudent to protect him, although he begged hard to be permitted to enter that fort. The horsemen, his pursuers, were in sight; but the commander of the fort was obdurate. With a few followers, amongst whom were his sons Bajeerao and Chimnajee, Ballajee Wishwanath attempted to cross over to Pandoogurh, a fort in the opposite valley, but Jadow's horsemen were already in his route, and searching for him in every quarter. In this dangerous extremity, he contrived to conceal himself for a few days, until two Mahrattas, the one named Peelajee Jadow, and the other surnamed Dhoomal, then common Sillidars in his service, collected, by their influence with their relations, a small troop of horse, and promised to sacrifice their lives, or carry him and his sons, that night, to the Machee * of Pandoogurh.

Ballajee Wishwanath, as the manuscripts state, "did not particularly excel in the accomplishment of sitting upon a horse†," but the Sillidars, although

* Machee is a village attached to all hill-forts, commonly situated on the face of the hill completely under protection, and is sometimes fortified.

† His biographer adds, "and at this time required a man, on each side, to hold him on."

they had a skirmish, performed their promise, and the commander of the fort protected him by Shao's orders. Chunder Seyn Jadow peremptorily demanded his being delivered up to him, and threatened, in case of refusal, to renounce his allegiance for ever. Shao was not prepared to punish this insolent demand, but he refused to give up Ballajee, and sent orders to Hybut Rao Nimbalkur, Sur Lushkur, then near Ahmednugur, to march for Satara immediately. In the meantime Ballajee Wishwanath was cooped up in Pandoogurh, which was surrounded by the Senaputtee's troops. Hybut Rao Nimbalkur, already jealous at not being made Senaputtee, and greatly incensed at Jadow's behaviour, obeyed the order with all speed; the latter hearing of his arrival at Phultun, quitted Pandoogurh and marched to Dewoor. The armies fought, and the troops of Jadow being defeated, he retired to Kolapoor, accompanied by Ghatgay, Shirzee Rao. The latter was confirmed by Sumbhajee in his hereditary possessions at Kagul, but both went off to meet Cheyn Koolich Khan, (Nizam Ool Moolk,) who had just been appointed, for the first time, to the viceroyalty of the Deccan, and from whom Jadow received a large tract of territory in the neighbourhood of Balkee, twenty-five miles east of Beder, as a Jagheer for the support of his troops. *

* Mahratta MSS. Hudeequ-i-Alum. This Persian MS. to which I here refer for the first time, is a voluminous history of Nizam Ool Moolk, and his successors. It is a modern, and respectable work, written by Mohummud Aboo Turab, and dedi-

After the death of Sultan Mauzum * in 1712, the distractions which prevailed by the usual contentions of the Moghul emperor's sons, the subsequent revolution effected for his grandson Ferokhsere, and the barbarous execution of Zoolfikar Khan, were followed by important changes in the government of the Deccan. Of these changes, the first to be mentioned, was of much importance, both as it removed Daood Khan from the government, and as it brought a person to the temporary charge of the viceroyalty, who subsequently bore a leading part in Deccan affairs. This was the appointment of Cheyn Koolich Khan, the son of Ghazee-ud-deen. His original name was Meer Kummur-ud-deen; the title of Cheyn Koolich Khan, with a munsub of five thousand horse, was conferred on him, when a very young man, by Aurungzebe, under whom, in the latter years of that emperor's reign, he held the important post of Soobehadar in the province of Beejapoor. Cheyn Koolich Khan had materially contributed to the success of the two Syuds, Abdoollah Khan and Hoossein Ally Khan, to whose bravery, skill, and exertions, Ferokhsere owed his throne.† Amongst

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cated to Meer Alum, the well known minister of Nizam Ally. I had two copies of this work, the one was lent to me by Mr. William Erskine.

* Or Shah Alum the Ist.

† Khafee Khan, Khuzaneh Amirah, and Muasir Ool Oomrah. The two last Persian authorities are both valuable. The Khuzaneh Amirah was written in the Deccan by Meer Gholam Ally, a native of Belgram, in the province of Oude. He is celebrated as a poet, as well as a historian; he is the author of the Suroo

courtiers as well as states, friendship is as often the result of common enmity as of common interest; Cheyn Koolich Khan, who was known to have been the enemy of Zoolfikar Khan, was immediately appointed to succeed to the viceroyalty of the deceased minister, and dignified with the title of Nizam Ool Moolk, whilst Daood Khan was removed to the government of Guzerat. *

It was at this period, that the disaffected Senaputtee, went over to Nizam Ool Moolk, by whom he was well received, and rewarded in the manner already mentioned. He was accompanied by Ghatgay, Shirzee Rao, of Kagul, and an officer named Rumbhajee Nimbalkur; the latter became distinguished in the Moghul service, and got the title of Rao Rumbha, which descended to his posterity. Nizam Ool Moolk, on arriving at Aurungabad, seemed disposed to favour the cause of Sumbhajee, which, without enquiring into the private motives that may have inclined him to that party, was now the wisest policy the Moghuls could have adopted. Jadow, eager for revenge, and Nizam Ool Moolk desirous of suppressing the ravages of Shao's officers, sent an army against the Sur Lushkur, who retired from the Godavery to the Beema. Shao, in

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Azad, and his works are much prized by the Mahomedans of the Deccan. The Muasir Ool Omirah, (Biography of the Moghul nobles) is much celebrated in the Deccan; it was written by Shah Nuwaz Khan, or Sumsam ud Dowlah, with whose public character the reader of oriental history is already acquainted, from the works of Mr. Orme, Colonel Wilks, and others.

* Khafee Khan.

order to support him, sent forward a body of troops under Ballajee Wishwanath, whom he now dignified with the title of *Sena Kurt*, or agent in charge of the army. Ballajee effected a junction with Hybut Rao Nimbalkur, who fell back to the neighbourhood of Poorundhur, where they proposed to stand an engagement. A battle was fought in which the advantage claimed by the Mahrattas, is contradicted by their subsequent retreat to the Salpee Ghaut. A detachment of Mahrattas from the Moghul army under Rumbhajee Nimbalkur, took possession of the Poona district, and Rumbhajee obtained a Jagheer in the neighbourhood. At length an accommodation took place, the terms of which are not ascertained, but hostilities ceased, and the Moghuls returned to Aurungabad. * Nizam Ool Moolk kept his troops in motion during the fair season, but after they went into cantonments for the rains, a plan he invariably adopted, the Mahrattas, acting under different leaders, resumed their depredations.

All the Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas, in the Moghul districts of Mahrashtra, fortified the villages where they resided, on pretence of defending themselves, but they frequently joined or assisted their countrymen, of whatever party, in escape, defence, or concealment. One very rich caravan of treasure, escorted by a large detachment under Mohummud Ibrahim Tebreeze, was attacked on the route from Surat to Aurungabad, the troops were entirely destroyed, and the property carried

* Mahratta MSS.

off.* This robbery was probably committed by Khundee Dao Dhabary. For many years that officer had subsisted his followers in Guzerat and Kattywar, and exacted a tribute in those provinces. He acknowledged Shao as his chief, and when Daood Khan was appointed to Guzerat, he withdrew from the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad, and established himself in the strong country about Naundode and Rajpeeplee†; whence it is likely, from the nature of the attack, this was his first sally.

As Nizam Ool Moolk favoured the Kolapoor party, Sumbhajee's influence was increased as that of Shao was diminished. Seedojee Ghorepuray‡, the son of Byherjee, nephew of the famous Suntajee, and youngest brother of the first Moorar Rao of Gootee, was induced to declare for Sumbhajee, by whom he was dignified with the title of Senaputtee, and several of the Ghorepurays, both of Kapsee and Moodhole, joined the Kolapoor party: but Seedojee and his ally, the Patan Nabob of Savanoor, were too intent on their own schemes of conquest and plunder, to quit the Carnatic. It was about this period that Seedojee made a great acquisition by obtaining possession of Sondoor, a fort situated in a valley of singular strength, within twenty-five miles of Bellary.

Kishen Rao Kuttaokur, a Bramin, raised by the Moghuls§, took post in the country about the

* Khafee Khan. † Mahratta MSS.

‡ Ranoojee the grandson of Suntajee fell in battle.

§ The same whose letter is given in a note, chap. xi. of this volume.

Mahdeo hills, and without joining either party, plundered the districts on his own account. Dummajee Thorat, an officer long under Ramchundur Punt, strengthened a Gurhee in the village of Hinghee or Hingungaom, near Patus, about forty miles east of Poona, and levied contributions for thirty miles round. He was of the Kolapoor party, and acknowledged no chief except his old patron Ramchundur Punt, under whom he had first established himself, and from whom he received Sopa and Patus as a Jagheer, during the siege of Ginjee. Even in Mahratta estimation he was a lawless ruffian. * Oodajee Chowan, another of Ramchundur's officers and a native of Hutnee, took the Gurhee of Buttees Serala, and in a short time became so formidable, that Shao was glad to enter into a compromise, by conceding the Chouth of Serala and Kurar, which Chowan long continued to receive as a personal allowance. There were several other petty depredators who declared themselves Sumbhajee's adherents, but the most formidable of all was Kanhojee Angria, then in possession of the coast from Sawuntwaree to Bombay, who was extending his sway over the province of Kalliannee in the Concan.

* An anecdote of this freebooter is related by his countrymen with much horror. It is necessary to premise, that one of the most sacred of oaths, amongst Mahrattas, is taken by holding the leaves of the tree called *Bel*, conjoined with Turmeric, which in the Mahratta language is known by the name of *Bandar*. Thorat was accused of having forfeited his oath, and treacherously seized Ballajee Wishwanath, after swearing on the Bel-Bandar. "And what of that," said Thorat, "don't I eat Bandar daily, and what is Bel, but the leaves of a tree."

Such was the state of anarchy which now prevailed, that without a sudden change of fortune, and a greater efficiency in Shao's government, his authority over the Mahrattas must soon have become nugatory. Ballajee Wishwanath instilled some vigour into his councils, and began to take a lead in public affairs. He proposed to reduce Dummajee Thorat, and set out for that purpose; but he was seduced to a conference, treacherously seized and thrown into confinement, together with his friend Abbajee Poorundhuree, his two sons, Bajee Rao and Chimnajee, and several of their immediate retainers.

Thorat threatened them with the torture of fastening horses feeding bags, filled with ashes, on their mouths, and with ultimate death, unless he received a large ransom for their release. After enduring many indignities, the amount of their ransom was at last agreed upon and paid by Shao, who now applied to the Suchew to stop the progress of Thorat. The Suchew accordingly prepared to attack him; but his troops were defeated, and both the Suchew and his Mootaliq were taken and thrown into confinement at Hingungaom.*

At the same time that the Punt Suchew undertook this service, two expeditions were prepared at Satara: the one, under the Peishwa, Byhroo Punt Pingley, went to protect the Concan and repel Angria; and the other, commanded by Bal-

* Naroo Shunker, the Punt Suchew, was then a child; but amongst Hindoos, the guardian generally considers the presence of his ward necessary on occasions of importance.

lajee Wishwanath, was ordered to suppress Kishen Rao Kuttaokur. This Bramin had become so bold and confident, that he marched to Ound to meet Shao's troops, but he was totally defeated, principally by the bravery of Sreeput Rao, the second son of Pureshram Trimbuck, the Pritee Needhee, who had urged his son to perform some action which might wipe away the misconduct of his elder brother, and procure his father's release. Shao, accordingly, once more restored the Pritee Needhee to his liberty and rank. Kishen Rao, after perfect submission, was pardoned, and received the village of Kuttao, in Enam, a part of which is still enjoyed by his posterity.

This success was of considerable importance, but a like good fortune did not attend the Peishwa's expedition. Byhroo Punt was defeated and made prisoner by Angria. The fort of Logurh was taken; Rajmachee surrendered; and it was reported that Angria was about to march for Satara. All the force that could be spared was collected to oppose him, under Ballajee Wishwanath, who undertook the command, with hopes of being enabled, from his former connection with Angria, to effect an accommodation more desirable than any that might result from a protracted contest with a powerful neighbour. Ballajee knew Angria to be a leader of considerable ability as well as enterprize, and that his resources were not bounded by the extent of the districts in his possession, but were chiefly obtained by daring and extensive piracies. Ballajee was successful in his endeavours; and

Angria, on condition of receiving ten forts*, and sixteen fortified places of less strength†, with their dependant villages; on being confirmed in command of the fleet, and his title of Surkheil, agreed to renounce Sumbhajee, to release the Peishwa, to restore all his conquests, except Rajmachee, and to maintain the cause of Shao.

By this agreement the Seedee found himself deprived of some places of which he had enjoyed the revenue for twenty years. The consequence was, an immediate rupture between that chief and Angria, in which Ballajee Wishwanath, co-operating against the Seedee, invaded his territory, and soon compelled him to submit.

A. D. 1714. Ballajee having performed this service in a manner so entirely to Shao's wishes, was received on his return to Satara with the greatest distinction; and in consequence of the failure of Byhroo Punt Pingley, that minister was removed from the dignity of Mookh Purdhan, and Ballajee Wishwanath was appointed Peishwa in his stead. His friend, Abbajee Poorundhuree, was confirmed as his Mootaliq, and Rammajee Punt Bhanoo‡ as his Furnuwees.

* These were, the island of (1.) Kenery (Kundeyree), 2. Kolabah, 3. Severndroog, 4. Viziadroog, 5. Jyegurh, 6. Deodroog, 7. Kunnikdroog, 8. Futihgurh, 9. Oochitgurh, 10. Yeswuntdroog.

† 1. Byroogurh, 2. Kotla, 3. Vickutgurh, 4. Manikgurh, 5. Mirggurh, 6. Sagurgurh, 7. Russalgurh, 8. Palgurh, and Ramdroog, 9. Gurhee Karaputtun, 10. Ramdroog, 11. Rajapoor, 12. Amber, 13. Sataolee, 14. Kamtey, 15. Sreewurdun, and 16. Munrunjun. (Copy of original papers.)

‡ Ancestor of the celebrated Nana Furnuwees.

Mannajee Moray, after the desertion of Chunder Seyn Jadow, had received clothes of investiture as Senaputtee, but had not performed the services that were expected of him; he was now ordered with Hybut Rao Nimbalkur, to accompany Ballajee into the Poona district, for the purpose of reducing Dummajee Thorat. As Ballajee was apprehensive that the Suchew, who was still a prisoner in Hingungaom, might be killed if the place were attacked, he was prevailed upon by Yessoo Bye, the Punt Suchew's mother, to endeavour to obtain his release before hostilities commenced. This was accordingly effected, and Yessoo Bye, in gratitude to the Peishwa for saving her son, made over to him the Suchew's rights in the Poona district, and gave him up the fort of Poorundhur as a place of refuge for his family, then residing in Sassoor. On the same pretence, Ballajee obtained a grant of it from Shao, by which concession, that prince forged the first link in the chain which afterwards fettered his own power, and reduced his successors to empty pageants of Bramin policy.

The force assembled in the Poona district was too powerful for Thorat. He was soon forced into the Gurhee of Hingungaom, which was breached and stormed. Dummajee Thorat was made prisoner, and the Gurhee was destroyed.

A.D. 1715. The Sur Lushkur returned to the Godavery after quarrelling with the Raja for not appointing him Senaputtee, and they were never reconciled. The Peishwa induced the Moghul agent*, in charge of the Poona district,

* He was a Mahratta, named Bajee Kuddum.

to make over the superior authority to him, on promising that Rumbhajee Nimbalkur's Jagheer should be respected. He immediately suppressed a banditti which infested it; gave his attention to restoring order in the villages; discontinued all farming of revenue; and encouraged cultivation, by the usual means of very low and gradually encreasing assessments. *

The affairs of the Mahrattas began to wear a more favorable aspect in all quarters; but, after the confusion, weakness, and total anarchy which have just been described, the rapid expansion of their power from about this period, under the authority of Shao, is, on any view, very remarkable, and at first, until the cause be investigated, might seem quite incredible. The circumstances, however, which preserved that prince's ascendancy will be satisfactorily explained; and, as to the domestic confusion among the Mahrattas, it may be considered the re-action of their predatory power; — their present state was like a flood with its channel completely obstructed, which rises on its natural barriers, till surmounting or bursting through them it inundates the plains.

The influence of Ballajee Wishwanath continued to increase, and no affair of importance was undertaken without his advice. A conciliatory policy was agreeable to Shao, and dictated all Ballajee's measures. The system of Sivajee was the groundwork of their arrangements; but, since the time of Sumbhajee, the necessity of preserving the Raja's supremacy by profusely issuing deeds, con-

* Mahratta MSS.

firming to the successful Mahratta leader the possession of all the territory in which he could establish himself, was ruinous both to their union and resources as a nation. The nature, however, of the tribute which Sivajee's genius had instituted, suggested a remedy for the endless divisibility which every additional acquisition of territory was likely to create. The expedient adopted, which must have been long contemplated, will be shown in its proper place; and although it but temporarily insured its end, is the most ingenious, as well as the deepest scheme of Bramin policy which is to be found unconnected with their religious system. The ministry, as far as practicable, was composed of the old retainers, and the situations of those who adhered to the Kolapoor party, were conferred on their near relations.

The following is a list of the ministry at this period:—

Pritee Needhee, Pureshram Trimbuck.

The Eight Purdhams.

1. Peishwa, or Mookh Purdhan. Ballajee Wishwanath.
2. Amat. Amba Rao Bappoo Rao Hunwuntay.
3. Suchew. Naroo Shunker.
4. Muntree. Naroo Ram Shenwee.
5. Senaputtee. Maun Sing Moray.
6. Somunt. Anund Rao.
7. Nyadeish. Honajee Anunt.
8. Pundit Rao. Moodhgul Bhutt Oopadheea.

Pursojee Bhonslay, and Hybut Rao Nimbalkur both died about this time. The son of the former, Kanhojee Bhonslay, was confirmed by Shao in all his father's possessions, and succeeded to his title of Sena Sahib Soobeh, but the rank of Sur Lushkur

was conferred on Dowulshee Somwoushee, together with all the rights and honours of the situation. The son of Hybut Rao, whose succession was set aside, quitted Shao's standard, joined Chunderseyn Jadow, and afterwards received Barsee and other districts as a Jagheer from Nizam Ool Moolk.

Shao was not destitute of ordinary ability, he was naturally generous, liberal to all religious establishments, observant of forms enjoined by the Hindoo faith, and particularly charitable to Bramins. The Ghaut Mahta and the rugged Concan were his birthright, but unused to climb Ghauts, or wander and live in the wilds of the mountain-forest, like his hardy grand-father, Shao's childhood was spent within the enclosure of the imperial seraglio, and it is not surprizing, that seduced by the pomp and luxury of which he partook, his habits should have continued those of a Mahomedan. He occasionally showed all the violence of the Mahratta character*, and for the time, anger overcame his indolence, but in general he was satisfied with the respect and homage paid to his person, and the professions of obedience invariably shown by the ministers to his commands; he was pleased at being freed from the drudgery of business, and in following his favorite amusements of hawking, hunting, and fishing; he did not foresee that he was delegating a power, which might supersede his own. As legitimate head of the Mahrattas, the importance of that nation was increased by the manner in which he was

* In comparison with the Bramins, the Mahrattas are extremely violent, which forms a striking contrast with the inflexible placidness which the former can command.

courted by the Moghuls, and the dignities and rights conferred upon him, in consequence of his situation, gave an influence and respect to the name of Shao, which, under other circumstances, he could never have attained. Both the sons of Sivajee followed the example of their father, from the period when he mounted the throne, and always declared their independence; but Shao acknowledged himself a vassal of the throne of Delhi, and whilst styling himself king of the Hindoos, he affected, in his transactions with the Moghuls, to consider himself merely as a Zumeendar, or head Deshmookh of the empire.

The emperor Ferokhsere, soon after his accession, upon the cessation of hostilities at the Salpee Ghaut, appointed Shao to the rank of ten thousand horse *, and for seventeen months, or during the first government of Nizam Ool Moolk, the policy and vigour of that viceroy, had greatly tended to control the Mahrattas.

Ferokhsere, at a very early period, began to entertain a jealousy of the Syuds, to whom he owed his elevation, and mutual distrust soon followed. He consented to appoint the younger Syud, Hoossein Ally Khan, to the viceroyalty of the Deccan; in hopes, that by separating the brothers, he should weaken their power, and compass their destruction. In applying for this appointment, Hoossein Ally Khan intended to follow the example of Zoolfikar Khan, and govern by deputy, but relying on the emperor's assurances, he was prevailed upon to

* Original letter from Ferokhsere to Shao.

depart for the Deccan, openly declaring, however, that if any thing should be meditated against his brother, he would be in the capital in twenty days. Ferokhsere, under whose authority Daood Khan was removed to Guzerat, now despatched secret instructions to that officer, to oppose the new viceroy, promising, that if successful, he should be appointed to the six Soobehs of the Deccan in his stead. Daood Khan, from his known influence with the Mahrattas, and other circumstances, was considered a person peculiarly fit for this commission; which, at the command of the emperor, he readily undertook. The only Mahratta, however, that had come forward, or had time to join him, was Neemajee Sindia, who, content with a Jagheer he received from Zoolfikar Khan, in the neighbourhood of Aurungabad, attached himself, during the dissensions of his countrymen, to the Moghul viceroy for the time being. On the present occasion, in observance of the same temporizing rule, when Hoossein Ally Khan, and Daood Khan came to a battle, Neemajee Sindia galloped about at a distance, awaiting the result, and seeing victory declare in favour of Hoossein Ally, after the death of Daood Khan, the Mahratta congratulated the victor, and joined his standard. *

A. D. 1716.

Ferokhsere, disappointed in his treacherous scheme, but still intent on the destruction of the brothers, with the greatest professions of cordiality, secretly encouraged resistance to the viceroy's authority, both amongst the servants of his govern-

* Khafee Khan.

ment and the Mahrattas: a base and silly policy, which, in the end, could hardly fail to meet with its deserts.

The first expedition, directed by Hoossein Ally Khan, against the Mahrattas, was for the purpose of opening the communication between Surat and Burhanpoor, and suppressing the depredations of Khundee Rao Dhabaray, who had established a line of posts along that route, and exacted one-fourth of the effects of all travellers who did not purchase his passport. Eight thousand men were sent off, under Zoolfikar Beg, to destroy this free-booter, but Dhabaray hearing of their march, threw himself in the way, suffered himself to be pursued in the usual manner, until the Moghuls were broken, when wheeling round, the experienced Mahratta, completely defeated them, killed the commander, and plundered his troops even of their clothes. *

Maokoob Sing, the Dewan of Hoossein Ally Khan, set out accompanied by Chunder Seyn Jadow to avenge this disgraceful defeat. Khundee Rao effected a junction with the troops of the Sur Lushkur, and gave the Moghuls battle near Ahmednugur. A severe conflict took place, in which both parties claim the advantage, but the Moghuls returned to Aurungabad. † Khundee Rao Dhabaray, who had been long absent from court, went to Satara after these successes, paid his respects to Shao, and was raised to the rank of Senaputtee of

* Khafee Khan, Muasir Ool Oomrah, and Mahratta MSS.

† Mahratta MSS., and Khafee Khan. I have here rather followed the Mahratta, than the Moghul account, because subsequent events corroborate the former.

the empire, Mannajee Moray having been removed for inability and misconduct.*

The Mahratta officers encouraged by their success, and by the secret overtures of Ferokhsere, now extended their encroachments; and, in addition to the Chouth, which they had agreed to receive from Daood Khan in lieu of all claims, they every where levied the Surdeshmookhee.

It was under these circumstances that Hoossein Ally Khan, distracted by Mahratta depredations on one side, and court intrigues on the other, had recourse to negotiations with Shao.† Shunkrajee Mulhar, originally a carcoon under Sivajee, and appointed Suchew by Raja Ram, at Ginjee, retired as has been mentioned, during the siege of that place, to Benares. Having become tired of a life so little in unison with his former habits, he engaged, although then a very old man, in the service of Hoossein Ally Khan when appointed to the Deccan. He soon gained the confidence of his master, and at an early period, entered into a correspondence with his old friends at Satara. He represented to the viceroy, that if the Mahratta claims were recognised, they would have an interest in the prosperity of the country; that this was the only way to restore tranquillity, and a certain means to obtain powerful allies, by whose aid he might rest secure from present intrigues, and eventually defy the avowed hostility of the emperor.

In these opinions, he was supported by Mohummud Anwar Khan, the governor of Burhanpoor, a

* Mahratta MSS.

† Khafee Khan, and Mahratta MSS.

person high in the confidence of Hoossein Ally Khan. Shunkrajee Mulhar was, therefore, despatched to Satara, for the purpose of effecting an arrangement and alliance between the Moghuls and his countrymen.

This mission laid open a grand prospect to the aspiring mind of Ballajee Wishwanath. Besides the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee of the six Soobehs of the Deccan, including the Beejapoor and Hyderabad Carnatic, with the tributary states of Mysore, Trichinopoly, and Tanjore, Shao demanded the whole of the territory in Maharashtra which had belonged to Sivajee, with the exception of his possessions in Candeish; but in lieu of which, territory adjoining the old districts, as far east as Punderpoor was to be substituted. The fort of Sewneree was required to be given up, and the fort of Trimbuck restored. The old districts in the Carnatic were also demanded, and a confirmation of some conquests lately made by Kanhojee Bhonslay, the Sena Sahib Soobeh, in Gondwaneh and Berar; and lastly, the mother and family of Shao were to be sent from Delhi, as soon as practicable.

On these conditions, Shao promised to pay to the imperial treasury,—for the old territory, a Peshkush or tribute of ten lacks of rupees:—for the Surdeshmookhee, or ten per cent. of the whole revenue, he bound himself to protect the country, to suppress every species of depredation, to bring thieves to punishment, or restore the amount stolen, and to pay the usual fee of six hundred and fifty-one per cent. on the annual income, for the hereditary right of Surdeshmookh:—for the grant of the Chouth,

he agreed to maintain a body of fifteen thousand horse in the emperor's service, to be placed at the disposal of the Soobehdars, Foujdars, and officers in the different districts; but upon the grant of the Chouth, no fee was to be paid. The Carnatic, and the Soobehs of Beejapoor and Hyderabad, which were then overrun by the partizans of Sumbhajee, Raja of Kolapoor, Shao promised to clear of plunderers, and to make good every loss sustained by the inhabitants of those provinces, from the date of the final settlement of the treaty.

A. D. 1717. Shunkrajee Mulhar had already sufficiently proved his desire to forward the interests of his countrymen, and Shao appointed him to conclude the terms, which, according to the above proposals, were, with some exceptions, conceded by Hoossein Ally Khan. *

The territory and forts not under the viceroy's control were to be recovered at some season of leisure, or, in any manner which Shao might think fit; in the meantime, a body of ten thousand horse were sent to join the viceroy. Suntajee and Pursojee Bhonslay, relations of the Sena Sahib Soobeh, Oodajee Powar, Wiswas Rao, and several other commanders, were detached in charge of the Mahratta troops for this duty. Agents were at the same time sent to inquire into the state of the districts, and collect the extensive shares of revenue now assigned to them, whilst the Bramin ministers were devising a system for realizing their intricate claims,

* Mahratta MSS. Copy of an original memorandum, and several original papers. Khafee Khan also partially confirms this account.

which it was by no means their object, or their interest to simplify.

A.D. 1718. The emperor, however, refused to ratify the treaty which had been exchanged, and an unworthy favourite having given him great encouragement in his intrigues for the destruction of the Syuds, he became less guarded in his measures, and an open rupture seemed inevitable. Hoossein Ally Khan, therefore, prepared to march for the capital, and solicited aid from Shao.* Such an opportunity was not neglected. Ballajee Wishwanath and Khundee Rao Dhabaray proceeded to join the viceroy with a large body of troops, for which he agreed to pay them a certain sum daily, from the date of their crossing the Nerbuddah, until their return; and Hoossein Ally Khan further promised, that the treaty should be ratified, and the family of Shao released and delivered to his officers.† Ballajee Wishwanath was instructed by Shao, on his departure, to endeavour, if possible, to obtain the cession of the forts of Doulutabad and Chandah, and an authority for levying the tribute, which had been for some time imposed by the Mahrattas, in Guzerat and Malwa. The plea on which these extraordinary pretensions to tribute were made, was, that the chiefs who had already levied contributions in those provinces, would break in

* The Moghul historians mention that the viceroy pretended to receive from Shao, a son of Sultan Mohummud Akber, then residing at the Mahratta court. The Mahrattas do not record this circumstance, but, although very possible, as it was attended by no result, I have rejected it.

† Khafee Khan, and Mahratta MSS.

and plunder, unless Shao could receive such an authority as must oblige the chiefs in question to look to him only for what they termed their established contributions, and that he would, under these circumstances, be responsible for the protection and improvement of the territories.

The combined army marched to Delhi, where the wretched Ferokhsere, as irresolute in his actions as he was bold in his intrigues, could not be prevailed upon to act any consistent part: he was alike submissive and deceitful; the friends, who would have acted for him, were suffered to be removed; and finally, after some tumult, he was confined by the Syuds, and subsequently put to death. Two princes of the royal household succeeded each other on the throne, and died within seven months.

A. D. 1719. Roshun Ikhtiar, the son of Jehandar Shah, and grandson of Sultan Mauzum, was then raised to the imperial dignity by the title of Mohummud Shah, but the two Syuds, by whom all these changes were effected, conducted the affairs of the empire with absolute sway, and with the usual watchful jealousy of usurpers. They held the reins with a strong hand, but they were naturally desirous of retaining the services of such nobles of experience and ability as were not supposed hostile to their party. Of this number was Nizam Ool Moolk, but that officer was secretly inimical to their power: he had been removed from his government in the Deccan, to make room for Hoossein Ally Khan, and appointed to Moorada-bad, where he had distinguished himself by his

activity in reducing to order some rebellious Zumeendars of the province, who had sheltered themselves in the Sewalick mountains. He was recalled to court by the emperor, and remained at Delhi for some time unemployed, but was at last despatched as governor of the province of Malwa, at the recommendation of the elder Syud. Although daring and ambitious, he inherited the temporizing policy of his father, and he was induced, on the confinement of Ferokhsere, to profess his allegiance to the pageant emperor whom the Syuds had set up. He continued in his government of Malwa; but observing the troubles and disorders likely to arise, he waited in expectation of some favourable opportunity to aggrandize himself, during the revolutionary period of which he foresaw the approach.

A.D. 1720. Ballajee Wishwanath, and his Mahrattas, remained at Delhi until the accession of Mohummud Shah; and during the tumult which preceded the confinement of Ferokhsere, Suntajee Bhonslay and fifteen hundred of his men were killed by the populace in the streets of Delhi.* The army was paid by the Syuds, according to the agreement, and Shao's mother and family given over to Ballajee Wishwanath. Both the Peishwa and Senaputtee being anxious to return to the Deccan, they were permitted to depart; and, ac-

* Seyr Mutuakhereen, and Mahratta MSS. In the latter, the manner of his death is differently related; but here, the former is the preferable authority. He is said to have been the natural son of Purscjee Bhonslay. The Seyr-ul-Mutuakhereen is a well-known Persian work, which was translated into English by a renegado Frenchman, named Mustapha. His manuscript translation is in the library at the India house.

cording to the treaty with Hoossein Ally Khan, they received three imperial grants * for the Chouth, Surdeshmookhee, and Swuraje. The Chouth †, or one fourth of the whole revenue of the six Soobehs of the Deccan, including the Hyderabad and Beejapoor Carnatic, and the tributary states of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Mysore; the Surdeshmookhee ‡,

* The original grants are in possession of the Raja of Satara: they are in the name of Mohummud Shah, dated in the first of his reign, A. H. 1131, A. D. 1719. The emperor Mohummud Shah was not, in fact, placed on the throne till 1720; but during the months that intervene between his elevation and the dethronement of Ferokhsere, two princes had filled the throne, whose names were expunged from the records.

† The deed for the Chouth is dated 22d Rubbee Ool Akhir, A. H. 1131, and grants to Shao, the fourth of the whole revenue of the six Soobehs of the Deccan, simply on condition that he shall maintain fifteen thousand horse, for the purpose of assisting the military governors in preserving order and tranquillity in the country.

‡ The Surdeshmookhee grant is dated 4th Jummadee ool Uwul, or twelve days after that of the Chouth. It does not specify in the body of the deed that it is granted as an hereditary right; but the customary fee on such occasions is stated on the back of the instrument, as will be seen in the accompanying extract, which also shows the estimated revenue of the six Soobehs of the Deccan, as registered by the Moghuls. The fee so calculated was commuted to 1.17.19.390 rupees, in consequence of the depopulated state of the districts.

		A.	P.
Soobeh Aurungabad - -	1.23.76.042	11	3
Ditto Berar - - -	1.15.23.508	14	3
Ditto Beder - - -	74.91.879	12	3
Ditto Beejapoor - - -	7.85.08.560	14	1
Ditto Hyderabad - -	6.48.67.483	0	0
Ditto Candeish - -	57.49.819	0	3
Rupees	18.05.17.294	6	1

or ten per cent, over and above the Chouth; and the Swuraje*, literally meaning *our own sovereignty*, or the districts possessed by Sivajee at the time of his death, which were granted to Shao, excepting the detached possessions in Candeish, the fort of Trimbuck, with the adjoining district, and the conquests south of the Wurdah and Toongbuddra rivers, which were not ceded. In lieu of such of these claims as lay to the north of the Beema, districts beyond the line of forts from Tattora to Muchindergurh, as far east as Punderpoor, were wholly ceded to Shao, and also those districts which Aurungzebe had promised to him at the time of his marriage in that emperor's camp.

The Surdeshmookhee estimated in rupees, at - - - - - -	1.80.51.730	0	0
Peshkush, or established fee on hereditary rights conferred, 651 per cent -	11.75.16.762	0	0
The immediate payment on delivering the deed, one-fourth, or - - -	2.93.79.190	8	0
The remainder, payable by instalments	8.81.37.571	8	0

* The following is a list of the sixteen districts included in the grant of the Swuraje. 1. Poona, 2. Sopa, including Baramuttee, 3. Indapoor, 4. Waee, 5. The Mawuls, 6. Satara, 7. Kurar, 8. Kuttao, 9. Maun, 10. Phultun, 11. Mulkapoor, 12. Tarla, 13. Panalla, 14. Azerah, 15. Joonere, and 16. Kolapoor. The Pergunnas north of the Toongbuddra, including Kopaul, Gudduck, Hullyal, and all the forts which were captured by Sivajee. The Concan, consisting of, 1. Ramnugur, including Gundavee, 2. Jowur, 3. Choule, 4. Beemgurh, 5. Beemree, 6. Kalliannee, 7. Rajpooree, 8. Dabul, 9. Jowlee, 10. Rajapoor, 11. Ponda, 12. Akolah, and 13. Koodal.

The above contain all that is useful from these deeds: to give a full translation is quite unnecessary, especially as, to the generality of readers, the substance will prove more intelligible.

The country watered by the Yairla, Maun, and Neera, celebrated for good horses and hardy soldiers, and the residence of some of the most ancient families in Maharashtra, who had not hitherto formally acknowledged the descendant of Sivajee, were by this cession placed under his authority.

The Mahrattas pretend, that the conquests in Berar by Pursojee and Kanhojee Bhonslay, and their right to tribute in Guzerat and Malwa, were confirmed at the same time; but although some very indefinite verbal promise may have been given, and Ballajee Wishwanath left a wukeel, named Deo Rao Hingunee, for the purpose, as is alleged, of receiving the Sunnuds, yet subsequent events prove the falsity of the assertion. No such confirmation appears in the imperial deeds; the usual fees levied on an hereditary assignment are specified on the back of the grant for the Surdeshmookhee, but none of the three were given as perpetual alienations.

When Ballajee Wishwanath departed for Delhi, he left his Dewan, Abbajee Poorundhuree, as his Mootaliq or deputy in charge of his seal of office, and the duties of Pieshwa continued to be carried on at the Mahratta court in Ballajee's name. On his return to Satara with the imperial deeds, the scheme for collecting and distributing the revenues, which all admit to have been projected by Ballajee, was examined, and the system before alluded to, which had already been partially introduced, was now generally promulgated. A brief analysis of their plans for collecting and appropriating the revenues, will afford more insight into the character of the people,

and the nature of Bramin power, than the subject promises. It furnishes not only some explanation of the mode adopted for preserving a common interest among the Mahrattas, and affording pretexts for encroaching on the Moghuls, but it exposes the laboured artifice, by which the illiterate Mahratta chief becomes wholly dependent on his Bramin accountant.

The Surdeshmookhee, or ten per cent on the revenues of the six Soobehs of the Deccan, was first set aside, and termed by the ministers the Raja's *Wutun*; a gratifying sound to the ears of a Mahratta, whether prince or peasant.

The imposition of the Surdeshmookhee of course reduced in a proportionate degree the actual collections from a country, the resources of which were already drained to the utmost; but the nominal revenue continued the same. To have collected even one fourth of the standard assessment would probably at this period have been impossible; but the Mahrattas, in all situations, endeavoured to secure, in lieu of their Chouth, at least twenty-five per cent of the real balance. But although they seldom could collect it, they always stated the Chouth as due upon the Tunkha, or standard assessment, because, even should a day of retribution arrive, no claim of Peshkush could be made by the Moghuls on that head, as none was specified on the deed.

In regard to the Surdeshmookhee, it suited both their foreign and domestic policy to keep that claim undefined; but one system in practice, that of ex-

acting as much as they could, was as simple as it was invariable.

Of the seventy-five per cent which remained to the Moghuls, one third, or twenty-five per cent, was received, according to established usage, by the Foujdar, and the balance was collected, sometimes for the imperial exchequer, but generally on account of some Jagheerdar, to whom, as I have already mentioned in a former chapter, the Moghul conquests in the Deccan were assigned for the support of troops. This general mode of appropriating the revenue, accounts for the seizures, resumptions, and cessions of territory, under the name of Jagheer, which was taken, retaken, and interchanged, during the later wars in the Deccan, between the Nizam and the Peishwa. It likewise explains the practice, which prevailed in many villages, even up to the period of the late conquests in Maharashtra by the British Government, of bringing fifty per cent of the net revenue to account under the head of Jagheer, for which the Koolkurnees, in less than a century, could assign no reason except the custom of their forefathers.

The Swuraje, applied in the first instance to that part of the territory north of the Toongbuddra possessed by Sivajee at his death, was, upon the return of Ballajee Wishwanath, extended in its signification to the whole of the Mahratta claims, exclusive of the Surdeshmookhee. Of these claims one fourth, or twenty-five per cent, was appropriated to the head of the state, in addition to the Surdesh-

mookhee; and this fourth was known by the name of the *Raja's Babtee* *: the balance was termed Mokassa.† Upon the Mokassa there were two shares left at the disposal of the Raja; the one was Sahotra, or six per cent, and the other Nargounda, or three per cent, both calculated on the whole Swuraje. The balance of the Mokassa was sixty-six per cent of the whole of the Mahratta claims, exclusive of the Surdeshmookhee.

The Sahotra was bestowed by Shao on the Punt Suchew, as an hereditary assignment; but it was only collected by the Suchew's own agents within the territory wholly possessed by the Mahrattas: separate collectors were sent by the Raja to realize it

* This was to distinguish it from other Babtee, or items of revenue. Thus they say, Surdeshmookhee Babtee, Mokassa Babtee, or items of revenue under these heads respectively.

† This word was no doubt adopted from the old name of the Beejapoor revenue officer. The Mahrattas are not very choice in their etymology, and appear to have been particularly arbitrary in fixing their revenue nomenclature. Nargounda, for instance, which is a corruption of the common Carnatic name for head Patell (Sur Patell, in Maharashtra), was applied to express 3 per cent upon their whole revenue, exclusive of the Surdeshmookhee. The office of Nargounda, or Nargaora, was common under the Beejapoor government, in the districts south of the Kistna. Nar in the Carnatic is (I believe) applied, like turuf in Maharashtra, as a name for a smaller division of a district, and Gaora is synonymous with Patell. When Shao got possession of Panalla, he bestowed the hereditary right of Nargaora on his Chitnees, which, for some reason unexplained, had been forfeited by a Mahratta named Nagojee Bhaskur to the Beejapoor government. In this case, the Nargaora wutun, having been granted in the Arabic year 1110, A. D. 1709–10, before the plan of revenue distribution was thought of, it was simply an hereditary right, as head Patell of the turuf.

in distant districts. The Nargounda was granted to different persons, at the Raja's pleasure.

The Purdhans, independent of salaries from the treasury, had many Enam villages conferred upon them. Ballajee Wishwanath received several districts adjoining Poona, in personal Jagheer, including the fort of Loghur. The Pritee Needhee, the Peishwa, and the Punt Suchew were charged with the collection of the Babtee on the Raja's account. Thus there were distinct agents for realizing the Babtee and Surdeshmookhee, for the Sahotra of the Punt Suchew, for the Nargounda of the assignee to whom it belonged, and for Mokassa to different officers for maintaining troops.

The Mokassa was distributed amongst a great number of chiefs, as military Jagheer, burdened, according to circumstances, with dues to the head of the state, both of money and of troops. The districts of old Mahratta Jagheerdars were exempted from the Chouth; but they generally were liable to the payment of Surdeshmookhee, besides furnishing their quota of horse. Such Jagheers, in a grant of Mokassa for a large tract, were always stated as deductions, and long before districts were conquered, formal grants and assignments of their revenue were distributed. Numberless personal Jagheers and Enams, of lands and of whole villages, were alienated by Shao: the former commonly required the performance of some service, but the latter were entirely freehold. The Raja's authority was considered necessary to collect the revenues thus conceded; but authority, for which they were constantly petitioning, was a mere

mockery. The Bramins soon proved, at least to their own satisfaction, that the Raja's Sunnud was sufficient for levying tribute in districts not specified in the imperial deeds. A district once overrun, was said to be under tribute from usage, whilst the others were plundered *by virtue of letters patent.*

There were particular quarters of the country assigned to the principal officers, which, as far as they can now be ascertained, were as follow: The Peishwa and Senaputtee, charged with the command of a great proportion of the Raja's personal troops, were ordered to direct their attention to the general protection and defence of the territory. The former had authority to levy the government dues in Candeish, and part of the Balaghaut; the latter was vested with similar authority in Buglana, and a right to realize the dues established by usage from Guzerat. Kanhojee Bhonslay, the Sena Sahib Soobeh, had charge of Berar Payeen Ghaut, and was privileged to make conquests and exact tribute from Gondwaneh to the eastward. The Sur Lushkur had Gungthuree, including part of Aurungabad; Futih Sing Bhonslay was appointed to the Carnatic; whilst the general charge of the old territory from the Neera to the Warna, and the collections from Hyderbad and Beder, were left to the Pritee Needhee, and the immediate agents of the Raja. The Chitnees had particular charge of several districts in the Concan. The Punt Suchew enjoyed the revenue of the whole Sahotra, besides his old possessions in Jagheer. The agents for collecting the Raja's Zumeendaree dues were styled Naib Surdeshmookh.

Kanhojee Angria, retaining his districts in the Concan, levied his Chouth, as he termed it, by continuing to plunder the ships of all nations that appeared on the coast. For a time, Angria refrained from molesting the English; but in consequence of his taking the ship Success, under British colours, war was renewed in 1717, and the settlement of Bombay was endangered by his intrigues with a Bramin, known by the name of Rama Kamatty*, who was employed in a confidential manner, and in command of the Sepoys, by the governor, Mr. Charles Boone. On the accession of Mr. Phipps, as president in council, the war was vigorously prosecuted; but Kanhojee Angria continued to deride the efforts† both of the English

* Probably Komptee. There is a class of Carnatic Bramins so named; but Kamattees are of the labouring class, and much employed in Bombay as palanquin-bearers.

† The following letter to the Bombay government is a curious specimen of his correspondence. It was received at Bombay, in November 1720, after an attempt on Viziadroog (or Gheriah), by an expedition under Mr. Walter Brown. I have given the letter nearly as it appears on the records, but have taken a few liberties with the translator's orthography.

Translate of Kanhojee Angria's Letter to the Honourable the President.

"I received your Excellency's letter, and have understood all your Excellency writes me. 'That the differences that continue even until now are through my means; that the desire of possessing what is another's is a thing very wide of reason; that such-like insults are a sort of piracy; that such proceedings cannot continue long; that had I from my beginning cultivated trade, and favoured the merchant, the port I now govern might, by the divine favour, have in some measure vied with the great port of Surat, and my name have become famous; all which,'

and Portuguese, who united to supress his piracies. Angria used to pay a tribute to the Raja in guns, muskets, military stores, and ammunition. He also

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your Excellency says, 'is not to be brought about but by opening a fair trade; that he that is least expert in war generally comes off a sufferer thereby; and that he who follows it purely through a love that he hath thereto, will one time or another find cause to repent; that if I had considered this something sooner, I might have found some benefit and convenience thereby.' Your Excellency says, 'you are very well acquainted with the manner of my government, from its beginning, and for that reason you would not on any account open a treaty with me until I set at liberty the people of your nation that are prisoners here: after that, you would receive any proposition from me that was friendly, or might tend to an accommodation.'

"At all which I very much admire, especially when I find your Excellency persuaded that I have been the cause of the past differences and disputes, the truth of which your Excellency will soon find when you examine both sides; for as touching the desire of possessing what is another's, I do not find the merchants exempt from this sort of ambition, for this is the way of the world; for God gives nothing immediately from himself, but takes from one to give to another. Whether this is right or no, who is able to determine?

"It little behoves the merchants, I am sure, to say our government is supported by violence, insults, and piracies; for-as-much as Maharaja (which is Sivajee) making war against four kings, founded and established his kingdom. This was our introduction and beginning; and whether or no, by these ways, this government hath proved durable, your Excellency well knows, so likewise did your predecessors; and whether it is durable or no, I would have your Excellency consider, it is certain nothing in this world is durable, which if your Excellency does consider, the way of this world is well known.

"Your Excellency is pleased to say, 'if I had regard to the weal of the people, and favoured commerce, my power would be much augmented, and my port become like that of

presented frequent nuzurs, in articles from Europe and China; and he was sometimes charged with a very extraordinary duty, that of executing state criminals.

Surat;' but I never have been wanting to favour the merchants, trading according to the laws of this country, nor of chastising those transgressing the same as your Excellency well knows. 'The increase of power depends on the divine will, in which human diligence little availeth.' Until this day, I have kept up the power that was necessary: whether I shall continue it or no for the future, who can tell? but that will be as God is pleased to determine.

"Your Excellency was pleased to write, 'that war proves most fatal to those where the use of the sword is not understood;' but in the government of his Excellency Charles Boone, nobody can say there was not loss on both sides; for victories depend on the hand of God, and for this reason great men take little notice of such losses.

"Your Excellency is pleased to write, 'that he who follows war, purely through an inclination that he hath thereto, one time or another will find cause to repent;' of which I suppose your Excellency hath found proof; for we are not always victorious, nor always unfortunate.

"Your Excellency was pleased to write, 'that you well understood the manner of my government, and for that reason you could not enter upon any treaty of peace with me, unless I would first set at liberty the people of your nation that are prisoners here.' I very well know your Excellency understands the manner of my government from its beginning, therefore this gives me no wonder; but if your Excellency says you will admit any proposition, after having your people released, I must then likewise say, my people are prisoners under your Excellency: how can I then give liberty to yours? But if your Excellency's intent was cordially to admit any overtures of peace for ending our present disputes, and do really write me for that end concerning the liberty of your people, I am to assure you my intent is cordially the same. It is there-

All the principal Mahratta officers had, as a further means of preserving intercourse and union, particular claims assigned to them on portions of revenue, or on whole villages in the districts of each other. The greatest Mahratta commanders, or their principal Bramin agents, were eager to possess their native village; but although vested with the control, they were proud to acknowledge themselves of the family of the Patell or Koolkurnee; and if heirs to a miras field, they would sooner have lost wealth and rank than been dispossessed of such *wutun* or inheritance. Yet, on obtaining the absolute sovereignty, they never assumed an authority in the interior village concerns, beyond the rights and privileges acquired by birth or purchase, according to the invariable rules of the country.

Such is brief outline of the system and arrangements settled by the Mahratta ministry on the return of Ballajee Wishwanath; and such was the mode by which a common interest was created, and for a time preserved, among the Mahratta

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fore necessary, that some person of character intervene, and act as guarantee between us, to whom I will presently send your Excellency's people. Your Excellency will afterwards do the like by mine: the prisoners on both sides, having by this means obtained their liberty, afterwards we shall enter on what relates to our friendship and treaty of peace for the avoidance of prejudice on both sides. For this end, I now write your Excellency, which I hope will meet with regard; and if your Excellency's intention be to treat of peace and friendship, be pleased to send an answer to this, that, conformable thereto, I may consider on what is most proper to be done. As your Excellency is a man of understanding, I need say no more."

chiefs; whilst the character of Shao, the influence and power of Ballajee Wishwanath, the abilities of his sons Bajee Rao and Chimnajee, and the preponderance of Bramin opinion and authority, paved the way, though by gradual steps, for the supremacy and usurpation of the Peishwas.

CHAP. XIV.

FROM A. D. 1720 TO A. D. 1726.

Nizam Ool Moolk, throwing off his dependence on the Syuds, determines on possessing himself of the resources of the Deccan — defeats Dilawur Khan, who falls in the contest. — Battle of Balapoor — the deputy viceroy Alum Ally Khan slain — conduct of the Mahrattas on the occasion. — Hoossein Ally Khan, accompanied by the emperor, sets out from Delhi to quell the rebellion of Nizam Ool Moolk, but is assassinated. — Battle of Shahpoor. — Syud Abdoollah Khan defeated and made prisoner. — Rejoicings at Delhi — promotions — congratulations. — Conduct of the new administration — Important changes at the Mahratta court. — Deaths of Pureshram Trimbuck, Ballajee Wishwanath and Khundee Rao Dhabaray — elevation of Sreeput Rao and of Bajee Rao. — Death of Dummajee Gaekwar, ancestor of the reigning family at Baroda. — Negotiations with Nizam Ool Moolk — his views and policy — is appointed vizier of the empire, and proceeds to Delhi. — Courtiers conspire against him. — Hyder Koolee Khan, governor of Guzerat, incited to rebellion — quelled by Nizam Ool Moolk, who appoints his uncle Hamed Khan, governor at Ahmedabad, and returns to Delhi — is appointed Wukeel-i-Mootluq — withdraws from court, and returns towards the Deccan. — Proceedings of Bajee Rao. — Origin of Holkar and Sindia. — Proceedings of Oodajee Powar. — Character of Bajee Rao — views directed towards Malwa — opposed by Sreeput Rao — discussions. — Commanding eloquence of Bajee Rao. — Nizam Ool Moolk, on his return to the Deccan, is opposed by Mubariz Khan. — Battle of Shukurkhera. — Appointment of Raja Geerdhur Buhadur as governor of Malwa, and of Sur Boolund Khan as governor of Guzerat — the deputy of the latter is defeated by the uncle of Nizam Ool Moolk, assisted by Kantajee Kudum Bhanday. — Roostum Ally, governor of Surat, betrayed by Peelajee Gaekwar — is also defeated. — Hamed Khan grants the Chouth to Kantajee and Peelajee — they quarrel in collecting

it — on which the Chouth of Guzerat, west of the Myhie, is assigned to Kantajee, and that of the country east of it to Peelajee. — Sur Boolund Khan marches for Ahmedabad. — Battle at the Shah-i-bagh — distracted state of Guzerat. — Bajee Rao's incursions into Malwa. — Notice of an expedition to the Carnatic.

A. D. 1720. THE measures which the Syuds adopted were the reverse of conciliatory; they were respected by the people, but they neither gained the good-will of the nobility, nor of the pageant emperor whom they had raised. Nizam Oool Moolk, governor of Malwa, who always meditated the means of aggrandizing himself, encouraged by these appearances of discontent, and secretly incited by persons in the confidence of Mohummud Shah, formed the resolution of throwing off his dependence on the Syuds, and of resisting their authority by possessing himself of the resources of the Deccan. He was aided in his projected scheme by Murhummut Khan, a disaffected officer of considerable talent, whom he had gained, and the awakened suspicions of the Syuds determined his purpose.

Assuming the title of Asif-ja, Nizam Ool Moolk crossed the Nerbúddah, at the head of twelve thousand men. The fort of Asseergurh was given up to him by Talib Khan, for a sum of money; Burhanpoor was surrendered by Mohummud Anwar Khan, and the whole of Candeish, in a very short time, submitted. Chunderseyn Jadow, Nimbalkur the son of Hybut Rao the late Surlushkur, Rao Rumbha Nimbalkur, several other Mahrattas, discontented with Shao, and some

troops belonging to Sumbhajee, from Kolapoor, attached themselves to his standard.*

At this juncture there were two armies in the interests of the Syuds, at no great distance from each other; the one under Dilawur Ally Khan, was on the frontiers of Malwa, and the other, was the army of the Deccan, stationed at Aurungabad, with the deputy viceroy, Alum Ally Khan, a nephew of the Syuds, left in charge of the government, when his uncle Hoossein Ally Khan departed for Delhi, to depose Ferokhsere. As the rains were at hand, Nizam Ool Moolk probably contemplated that the advance of the former might be obstructed by the swelling of the Nerbuddah and Taptee, and that he should be able to decide the fate of the Deccan, and become master of its resources, before the deputy viceroy could be re-inforced from Hindoostan. Dilawur Ally Khan, however, marched with such rapidity, that he crossed the rivers whilst still fordable, but either incapable of perceiving, or disdaining the advantage which would have been insured, by forming a junction with the troops at Aurungabad, and intent only on attacking his enemy, he marched straight for Burhanpoor. Nizam Ool Moolk prepared to receive him, and being aware of the impetuous character of his adversary, adopted an order of battle suggested by his experience of Deccan warfare: he sent forward and displayed a part of his army, to stimulate the ardour of Dilawur Ally Khan, who rushed upon them, pushed forward in

* Mahratta MSS., and Khafee Khan.

imagined victory, was drawn into an ambuscade, defeated, and slain.*

Alum Ally Khan, the deputy viceroy, had not assembled the whole of his army, when news of this disaster reached Aurungabad; the troops of Shao, under Kanhojee Bhonslay, the Sena Sahib Soobeh, and Hybut Rao Nimbalkur speedily joined Shunkrajee Mulhar, who, since the departure of Hoossein Ally Khan, had resided with the deputy viceroy, as the envoy of Shao. Khundee Rao Dhabaray, who had just returned from Delhi, was likewise despatched from Satara, with a body of horse. Alum Ally Khan advanced towards Burhanpoor, and sent forward the Mahrattas to harass his opponent. Nizam Ool Moolk, who had been busily employed in preparing his own troops, and sowing sedition among those of his adversary, likewise advanced; but the Poorna river being greatly swoln, his march was for a time interrupted, until a ford was discovered. The Mahratta horse on each side had frequent skirmishes as the Moghul armies approached each other; but Nizam Ool Moolk, previous to engaging, stationed his Mahrattas at a village some distance in the rear. Choosing an arangement nearly similar to that by which his late success had been achieved, Nizam Ool Moolk attacked his adversary at Balapoor in Berar Payeen Ghaut,

* The Surat records, containing the report of the day (Monday, 20th June, 1720) give a different account, and say, "Nizam Ool Moolk prevented the junction." That he should do so was probable, but I have followed the concurring testimony of the Moghul historians, supported by Mahratta manuscripts.

drew him into an ambuscade, where, after great efforts of personal valour, and after many of his troops had fled or deserted to his enemy, Alum Ally Khan at length fell, surrounded by Mahrattas slain in his defence. On this occasion the Mahrattas behaved as faithful auxillaries, and fought with bravery; they lost no person of note, except Shunkrajee Mulhar, who was mortally wounded, and made prisoner.*

The news of this second victory, which was gained by Nizam Ool Moolk, about the end of July, was received at Delhi with consternation by the Syuds, but with secret satisfaction by the emperor. Various were the plans proposed by the two brothers, but it was at last determined, instead of yielding the government of the Deccan to Nizam Ool Moolk, a measure strongly advised by their Hindoo agent, Ruttun Chund, that the younger Syud, Hoossein Ally Khan, should march for the Deccan, taking with him the emperor, and a well appointed army sufficient to crush this formidable rebel.

Accordingly, Hoossein Ally Khan, accompanied by the emperor, having made every preparation, took leave of his brother, and commenced his march southward. The Tooranee Moghuls, friends and countrymen of Nizam Ool Moolk, dreaded the event of a war in the Deccan; but stimulated by the success of Nizam Ool Moolk, whom they considered a chief of their tribe, and encouraged by the connivance of the emperor, a conspiracy was

* Khafee Khan, and Mahratta MSS.

formed against the life of Hoossein Ally Khan, by three daring individuals, on one of whom fell the lot of striking the blow. The assassin effected his deadly purpose at the expence of his life. The surviving conspirators, Mohummud Amin Khan, and Sadut Khan, joined by Hyder Koolee Khan, immediately placed the emperor at the head of such troops as they could command, proclaimed their resolution of freeing him from the tyranny of the Syuds, and after considerable bloodshed, obtained the ascendancy in camp. An Indian army readily changes masters, and even under circumstances of national hostility, where the commander of the vanquished has been slain, and his followers accept of service from the victor, the new chief, to use their own expression, "whose salt they eat," frequently advances at their head with as much confidence as if they had never been his enemies; on the present occasion, although the army had previously looked on Hoossein Ally Khan as their master, they were employed under the name and authority of Mohummud Shah. The chiefs of the conspiracy, therefore, after they had prevailed over the immediate dependants of the Syuds, found no difficulty in securing the fidelity of the army, and the imperial standards were advanced towards the capital. Syud Abdoollah Khan, on hearing of this revolution, by means of the treasure at his command, assembled a large army in a few days, and placing on the throne a rival to Mohummud Shah, marched forth to punish the murderers of his brothers. The armies met at Shahpoor, where a bloody contest, long dubious, at length ended in

the defeat of Abdoollah Khan, who was wounded and made prisoner.

Mohummud Shah, on thus becoming entire master of the empire, in gratitude for the services he had experienced, appointed Mohummud Amin Khan his vizier, Khan Dowran received the title of Umeer Ool Oomrah, Kummur-ud-deen Khan, the son of Mohummud Amin, was raised to high dignity, Hyder Koolee Khan, and Sadut Khan, were also promoted, and all those who had distinguished themselves in the battle of Shahpoor, were rewarded and honoured.*

The emperor entered his capital in splendid procession, and for many days nothing was heard but rejoicing and festivity. Letters of submission and professions of loyalty poured in from every quarter; Nizam Ool Moolk offered his congratulations; Shao's envoy was equally prompt in paying homage, and the chiefs of the European factories, through the different Sobehdars and Foujdars, sent humble offers of congratulation, and best wishes for his majesty's long and happy reign.

The reign of Mohummud Shah was indeed long, but ages of ordinary decay were crowded into that period. The rapid ruin of the empire, and the terrible fate over-hanging the venerable Delhi, form a melancholy contrast with the gaiety and splendour which now gladdened its inhabitants, and for which the Moghul capital was still celebrated. Suitable answers and returns were made to all the messages, letters, and presents, which

* Seyr Mutuakhereen.

crowded in upon the young emperor. Nizam Ool Moolk, whose successful revolt had been the primary cause of the present happy revolution, was particularly honoured, and shortly afterwards, in consequence of the sudden death of Mohummud Amin Khan, he was not only permitted to retain his viceroyalty, in addition to his government of Malwa, but raised to the office of vizier of the empire; arrangements, however, in the Deccan and Carnatic, to which we shall presently revert, prevented his appearing at court, until the month of January 1722.

Amongst the appointments of this period, it is proper to mention those of Hyder Koolee Khan, to Guzerat, which he at first governed by deputy; and of Sadut Khan, first to Agra and afterwards to Oude; during the short time the latter held both governments, he also entrusted Agra to a deputy. Sadut Khan has been already mentioned as an active conspirator against his former patrons the Syuds, and he afterwards bore a large share in the events of his time, but he is best known in British India, as the ancestor of the present King of Oude.

The first event which attracted the attention of the new administration at Delhi, and on the issue of which that of all India was probably fixed, arose from the rebellion of the Rajpoot prince of Joudpoor, Ajeet Sing, who, originally in the interest of the Syuds, had possessed himself of Ajimere. Hyder Koolee Khan and Sadut Khan, proposed marching to reduce him to obedience, but Khan Dowran, the principal minister, in the

absence of Nizam Ool Molk, unwilling to relinquish the command of the expedition, was at the same time afraid of losing his influence when at a distance from the young emperor; he was also averse to quit the pleasures of the capital, and at last assented to the appointment of Kummur-uddeen Khan for this service. The latter, however, required some preliminary concessions in regard to his powers of command, which could not be complied with; in short, the expedition was abandoned, and the imperial authority compromised, by admitting excuses and professions of submission from Ajeet Sing, which were tendered to the emperor through Khan Dowran. Nor did a mere pardon suffice; by the influence of Khan Dowran, Ajeet Sing was appointed to the government of Agra, in consequence of the assassination of the deputy of Sadut Khan, and thus, as the Khan was not consulted, the emperor's enemy was conciliated at the expence of his friend.

In the meantime, several important changes had also taken place at the Mahratta court, chiefly owing to the death of three of the principal ministers; Pureshram Trimbuck, Ballajee Wishwanath and Khundee Rao Dhabaray. Sreeput Rao, second son of the Pritee Needhee, had succeeded his father Pureshram Trimbuck previously to the return of Ballajee Wishwanath from Delhi. The Peishwa's health had suffered considerably from the fatigue of the journey, and the labour he had bestowed on different arrangements after his return: he therefore, obtained permission from the Raja to retire

for a short time to Sassoor, where his family resided, but his constitution being completely exhausted, he only survived a few days. * He left
(Oct.) two sons Bajee Rao and Chimnajee, and two daughters, Bhew Bye married to Abbajee Naik, the brother of Bappoojee Naik, a rich banker of Baramuttee; and Annoo Bye, the wife of Narrain Rao Ghorepuray, of Eettul Kurinjee, connections which have reference to future circumstances. Ballajee's eldest son, Bajee Rao, was not formally invested with the dignity of Peishwa for nearly seven months after his father's death; the reason for this delay is no where explained, but it may be attributed to the absence of the principal officers; or Bajee Rao may have joined the army, which did not return beyond the Godavery for some time after the battle of Balapoor.

The troops of Khundee Rao Dhabaray behaved with great bravery on that occasion; and one of his officers, Dummajee Gaekwar, who with several of his sons had long stood high in Khunde Rao's estimation, had so particularly distinguished himself, that on his return he recommended him to Shao in the warmest manner. The Raja, in consequence, appointed him second in command under Khundee Rao, with the title of Shumsher Buhadur. Such was the origin of the ancestor of the reigning family at Baroda. Neither Dummajee nor Khundee

* One authority, the Calendar of the Poona Duftur, states his death in April 1721; but the origin of the mistake is accounted for by the delay which occurred in the appointment of his successor.

Rao Dhabaray, survived their return above a few months: the son of Khundee Rao, Trimbuck Rao Dhabaray, was honoured with the dress of Senaputtee in May; the same month in which Bajee Rao received his clothes of investiture, as Peishwa. Peelajee Gaekwar, an active partizan, the son of Junkojee Gaekwar, succeeded to the situation of his uncle Dummajee; and Chimnajee, the second son of the late Peishwa, was appointed to a similar command under his brother. Chimnajee likewise received the district of Sopa, in Jagheer. Abbajee Punt Poorundhuree, their father's Mootaliq, according to the rule of appointment by the Raja, was re-invested by Shao with scrupulous ceremony. During the interval between the death of Ballajee Wishwanath, and the appointment of Bajee Rao, Abbajee Punt Poorundhuree transacted ordinary affairs with the seal of the late Peishwa; but a great part of the business fell into the hands of Khundoo Bullal Chitnees, and Sreeput Rao, Pritee Needhee. The former gave his attention principally to Angria, the Seedee, and affairs in the Concan; whilst the Pritee Needhee, aided by Anund Rao, Somunt Purdhan, conducted the important negotiations which were pending with Nizam Ool Moolk.

A. D. 1721.

The son of Anund Rao, named Mahtajee, was employed as Shao's wukeel, and the temporizing policy and character of Nizam Ool Moolk, are strongly marked in his conduct during the year which followed the victory at Balapoor. At first, whilst he apprehended an attack from Hoossein Ally Khan, he cemented his friendship with Sumb-

hajee, of Kolapoor, and conciliated Shao by promising to give up all that the royal grants conceded. No sooner was he apprized of the ascendancy acquired by his party at Delhi, and of the loss the Mahrattas had sustained in the death of Ballajee Wishwanath, than he began to start objections to the establishment of Shao's collectors, founded on some pretensions set up by Sumbhajee and Chunderseyn Jadow. But the wise precautions of Ballajee Wishwanath, and the communion of interest which the distribution of the ceded revenues had produced, placed the Raja of the Mahrattas in a far more commanding situation than that in which he had stood during the first period of the government of Nizam Ool Moolk, in the Deccan. The wukeel remained at Aurungabad, where his arguments would probably have been of little avail, but a vast army of Mahrattas was assembling in Gungthuree, under the Sur Lushkur, and their appearance, no doubt, had considerable effect in expediting the delivery of orders to permit the Raja Shao to establish his collectors. A fresh firman, obtained by the Mahratta wukeel at Delhi, from Mohummud Shah, opportunely arrived to remove from Nizam Ool Moolk the appearance of having yielded to menace, and afforded an opportunity of evincing the promptitude with which he obeyed the imperial commands.

Nizam Ool Moolk, in raising objections, had not contemplated the train which had been laid under the administration of Ballajee Wishwanath; he wished to procrastinate, and to involve the Mahrattas in war with each other, but he was, for

various reasons, desirous not to precipitate hostilities between the Mahrattas and himself. He dreaded the increase of their power, only as far as it affected his own views; the prospect of aggrandizement at the imperial court, which opened to him, upon the death of the Vizier, Mohummud Amin Khan, seemed incompatible with his plan of independent sovereignty, but he was unwilling to relinquish the one or the other.

His prompt obedience to the royal commands may have been favourably viewed by a young monarch, just emancipated, although it confirmed the alienation of half the revenues of the Deccan; but Nizam Ool Moolk, in whatever light his conduct might have been regarded at court, on this occasion had the address to gain the good opinion of Shao, to flatter and conciliate the Pritee Needhee, and to gain the Somunt by bribery.

On a general view, his plans were calculated to preserve his rank at court, and his power in the Deccan; to keep alive the old, and to create new dissensions among the Mahrattas; to preserve a connection with that nation, in case it should ultimately be useful to direct their attacks from his own to the imperial territories; and, however inconsistent some of those designs may seem, in this system of political artifice, through the remainder of a long life, Nizam Ool Moolk, not only persevered, but generally prospered.

His first object was to ascertain by personal observation, the character of the new Moghul government, and what he might expect or apprehend

from the emperor's present friendship or future enmity. He was on his way to court when he was recalled for a short time in consequence of disturbances in the Beejapoor Carnatic; to which, after concluding some arrangements, he appointed a new Soobehdar, and resumed his march for the capital, where, as already related, he arrived in January, 1722.

A. D. 1722. Nizam Ool Moolk, on assuming the post of Vizier, endeavoured to effect some reform at court, but the emperor was not only fond of that mirth and festivity, natural to his years, but weak in mind, and, as is generally the case with persons of that disposition, dissolute in his behaviour. The manners of Nizam Ool Moolk were austere, and disagreeable both to the emperor and his courtiers. Prompt at every base intrigue, they soon devised a scheme of freeing themselves from the society of Nizam Ool Moolk. Hyder Koolee Khan had departed for his government at Ahmedabad before the return of Nizam Ool Moolk from the Deccan, and having committed some irregularities, the courtiers by threatening him with punishment from the Vizier, Nizam Ool Moolk, and working on the passions of both parties, soon inflamed them to the utmost, and drove Hyder Koolee Khan to further acts of disrespect and disobedience. Nizam Ool Moolk had censured the manner in which the rebellion of Ajeet Sing had been passed over, and being now offered the post of Soobehdar of Guzerat, with the commission of reducing Hyder Koolee Khan, he readily ac-

cepted it. On this service it was hoped the Nizam might be long employed, or fall a victim to the chances of war.

Hyder Koolee Khan had a well appointed army, and his qualities as a soldier were unquestionable. Nizam Ool Moolk, however, having sent emissaries amongst his troops, the greater part of those on whom Hyder Koolee Khan had reliance deserted, which made such an impression upon him, that he feigned insanity, and fled in dismay to court, leaving his adversary in the undisturbed occupation of the province. Nizam Ool Moolk, on obtaining this intelligence, halted at Oojein, whither most of the principal officers in Guzerat repaired to pay their respects to him. All his appointments and arrangements were made without proceeding to Ahmedabad; and as he took every opportunity of increasing his own resources, and of informing himself of what was passing in the country, he set aside five of the most productive districts in different parts of the province, as his personal Jagheer; these were, Dholka, Baroach, Jumbooseer, Mukboolabad, and Bulsar. The usual establishment of civil and military officers were confirmed or appointed to the imperial districts. The Jagheerdars in that province were on a different footing from those appointed by Aurungzebe in his late conquest of the Deccan, and agents, generally of their own nomination, superintended the revenue and police within their respective boundaries.

A.D. 1723. Nizam Ool Moolk sent his uncle, Hamed Khan, as his deputy to Ahmedabad, and leaving his cousin, Azim Oollah Khan,

deputy governor of Malwa, he returned to Delhi. But his presence was so disagreeable to the emperor, and mutual disgust was with so much difficulty suppressed, that Nizam Ool Moolk gladly entered into a compromise, accepted the honour of Wukeel-i-Mootluq, or supreme deputy in the empire, and resigned his post of vizier. Soon after, in the month of October, 1723, he took an opportunity, on pretence of going on a hunting excursion, to depart for his viceroyalty in the Deccan; and from that time, although he always professed obedience to the emperor, even when waging war against him, Nizam Ool Moolk became wholly independent, and the countries south of the Nerbuddah, the conquest of which had engaged the Moghul princes in much more than a century of war, were torn for ever from the throne of Delhi. *

Whilst these events were passing in Hindoostan, Bajee Rao, soon after his appointment as Peishwa, set out with an army for Candeish, where he levied

* Khuzaneh Amirah, Hudeequ-i-Alum, Seyr Mutuakereen, and Mirat Ahmudee. The Mirat Ahmudee is a voluminous Persian history of Guzerat, written in Ahmedabad: it was commenced A. D. 1747, by Alee Mohummud, the son of the Moghul Dewan of the province, assisted by Meetya Lal, a Hindoo, who died before the work was completed. It was finished A. D. 1756, by Alee Mohummud. Though not always to be depended upon, it is the best native account of that province, and, conjoined with contemporary English Records, is very valuable. I am indebted to Mr. Romer, the chief of Surat, for the Mirat Ahmudee, and for extracting the whole of the old records of the Surat factory, which he found connected with the history of the Mahrattas. I take this opportunity of expressing my sense of his liberality and kindness.

his Mokassa, although not without opposition. From the period of his accession he gave a considerable portion of his attention to extending Mahratta conquests to the northward, and his views were early directed to Malwa. Circumstances generally obliged him to return annually to Satara and Poona; and during three expeditions, before the rains of 1724, although he had sent detachments into Malwa, it is not ascertained that he crossed the Nerbuddah in person until the end of that year; nor did he remain in Malwa for any length of time, until upwards of eleven years after his accession as Peishwa; various affairs in the Deccan required his presence, which, with the intrigues of Nizam Ool Moolk, and domestic opposition, restrained both his ambition and his enterprize.

A. D. 1724.

Before the year 1724, Bajee Rao had, at different times, defeated the Soobehdar of Burhanpoor; and an officer, named Daood Khan, sent against him by Azim Oollah Khan, from Malwa. In one of these battles, two of Bajee Rao's officers, who afterwards attained high rank, were first brought into notice: the one, Mulharjee Holkar, was a Sillidar who commanded a party of horse of his own; he was a Mahratta Dhungur, a class of Shooders already mentioned, and a native of the village of Hohl, on the Neera, of which his father was Chougula*; he had served under Kantajee Kuddum Bhanday, one of the Raja's officers, and had collected a small body of horse. The

* The Patell's assistant. There are none of the Chougula's descendants now in Hohl.

other officer was Ranoojee Sindia, descended from a younger branch of the family of Kunneirkheir, a village fifteen miles east of Satara. The Sindias, according to the legends of the country, have been distinguished Sillidars since the time of the Bahminee dynasty; there are two Mahratta families, or rather tribes of this name: the one is distinguished by their hereditary Patell village of Kunneirkheir; and the other, by the appellation of Ruwee* Rao. Both families claim a Rajpoot descent; those of Kunneirkheir had a munsub under Aurungzebe; and Sindia's daughter, who was given by that emperor in marriage to Shao, died in captivity at Delhi. Sindia remained faithful to the Moghuls; and as his fate was never known, it is conjectured that he was killed in some distant country†, possibly with Azim Shah in the battle of Agra, in 1707. The family, however, had fallen into decay, and Ranoojee, who revived its fame with additional celebrity, was reduced to a state of abject poverty, serving as a Bargeer, first in the Pagah of Ballajee Wishwanath, and afterwards in that of his son. To contrast his original with his subsequent condition, he is said to have carried the Peishwa's slippers, and to have been marked by Bajee Rao as fitted for a place of trust, by the care he took of the humble charge committed to him.‡

* Ruwee means the sun; but I could not ascertain the origin of the title.

† Mahratta MSS., and tradition.

‡ Mahratta MSS., and Sir J. Malcolm's Report on Malwa. The same tradition is current in different parts of the country.

Another officer, who attained additional distinction about this period, was Oodajee Powar Wiswas Rao. His father was first raised by Ramchundur Punt Amat, when he governed the country during the siege of Ginjee, and the young man, having joined Shao, obtained the command of a considerable body of the Pagah horse. He was employed on various services *, and appears to have been an active partizan: like most contemporary Mahratta leaders of experience, such as Kantajee Kudum, Peelajee Gaekwar, and Kanhojee Bhonslay, he calculated on the surest advantage in the more distant ventures, where his appearance was least expected. He made incursions into Guzerat and Malwa; plundered the former as far as Lunawarra, and found the latter province so much drained of troops, that he was enabled to remain some time in the country, intimating to the Raja, that if supported, he might collect the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee in every direction. How long he maintained his station in the country, on his first inroads, is uncertain; but it is probable that he was obliged to retire from Dhar†, where he first established himself upon the appointment of Geerdhur Buhadur, whose exertion in the defence of Malwa, was one principal cause of preventing the Mahrattas, from getting a firm footing in that province, for more than ten years after the accession of Bajee Rao.

The progess of Oodajee Powar, the news of suc-

* Original memorandum of instructions, at different times issued by Shao, where Oodajee Powar is mentioned.

† Dhar is a fortress in the west of Malwa, of great antiquity.

cesses by Kantajee Kudum Bhanday and Peelajee Gaekwar, in Guzerat, and the dissensions between Nizam Ool Moolk and the imperial court, opportunely occurred to favour the Peishwa in his views of extending the Mahratta conquests in Hindoostan, which were, at first, disapproved by Shao, and from prudential motives, as well as party feelings, strongly opposed by Sreeput Rao, the Pritee Needhee; but here, some explanatory digression is required.

The reader has already obtained considerable insight into the character of Nizam Ool Moolk. That of his great rival, though occasional ally, Bajee Rao, might have been allowed to develop itself; but the history of the period is intricate, owing to the varying plans, or the domestic affairs of the different powers, the vast space to which attention must be directed, and the numerous actors that will start up every year to consequence or to sovereignty; but the leading personages are, the Nizam* and the Peishwa.

Bajee Rao was early trained to habits of business by his father; he had accompanied him to Delhi, and was present at one or more interviews which took place between Ballajee and the Raja Jey Sing of Jeypoor, a circumstance which promoted a future connection with that celebrated chief. Bred a soldier as well as a statesman, Bajee Rao united the enterprise, vigour, and hardihood of a

* Universal custom amongst the English scarcely authorizes this misnomer; but I have sometimes used *the Nizam*, instead of Nizam Ool Moolkh, Nizam Ally, &c., or the Soobehdar of the Deccan.

Mahratta chief, with the polished manners, the sagacity, and address which frequently distinguish the Bramins of the Concan. Fully acquainted with the financial schemes of his father, he selected that part of the plan calculated to direct the predatory hordes of Maharashtra in a common effort. In this respect the genius of Bajee Rao enlarged the schemes which his father devised; and unlike most Bramins, of him it may be truly said, he had both the head to plan, and the hand to execute. To the assiduous industry and minute observation that seem inherent in his cast, he superadded a power of discrimination that taught him to direct his mind to those leading points of political importance, which tended so materially to extend Mahratta sway, during the period of his administration.

Besides his foreign enemies, Bajee Rao had a domestic rival of some abilities in the Pritee Needhee. Jealousy, in public situations, is a passion which the most subtle Bramins can rarely command or conceal; it prevails in a remarkable degree amongst all of them, but it is most conspicuous between Bramins of different tribes.* The rivalry of Sreeput Rao tended to preserve the Raja's ascendancy, as head of the state, for a longer period than it might otherwise have existed; but whilst it usefully controlled the conduct of Bajee Rao and Chimnajee Appa, both of whom are said to have been naturally domineering, it also, for some years, cramped the efforts of the Peishwa, obliged him to return to Satara more fre-

* Bajee Rao was a Concanist. Sreeput Rao a Deshist, of the class Yajurwedee.

quently than was conducive to the success of distant expeditions, and aided Nizam Ool Moolk in his endeavours to excite internal dissensions amongst the Mahrattas.

The Peishwa's first proposal for exacting, what he called the established tribute from Malwa, and extending Mahratta conquests into Hindoostan, was violently, and as already noticed, for a time successfully opposed by the Pritee Needhee. The latter represented it as "rash and imprudent;—that the head of the state might not be called upon to account for casual inroads, but that to grant such an authority to the Mookh Purdhan, must draw upon them the whole power of the empire, and precipitate hostilities with Nizam Ool Moolk, whose victorious army was still at their gates. That so far from being prepared for resistance, there was a total want of regularity even in the arrangements laid down, that they could scarcely quell a common insurrection, and that entering on a war, when they had not yet secured what had been ceded, was the extreme of folly and of rashness." The Pritee Needhee added, that "he was a soldier as well as the Peishwa, and as ready as Bajee Rao could be to head any expedition, when it might become expedient; that after they had established their collectors, and arranged other parts of the country, it would be advisable, before pursuing their conquests in the north, to reduce the Carnatic, and recover the territories conquered by Sivajee;—that although Futih Sing Bhonslay held Sunnuds for collecting the Mokassa of the Carnatic, his troops, from the power of Sumbhajee,

at Kolapoor, and his abettors, Chowan, Ghorepuray, and the nabob of Savanoor, could scarcely venture to cross the Kistna, and that the first effort should, therefore, be made in that quarter."

Such were probably the real opinions of Sreeput Rao, but the wisdom of Bajee Rao was of a much higher order. He comprehended the nature of predatory power; he perceived its growth in the turbulence and anarchy, for which the system of distributing the revenue was the first remedy; he foresaw, that confusion abroad would tend to order at home; and that as commander of distant expeditions, he should acquire the direction of a larger force than any other chief of the empire: that the resources of the Deccan would not only improve by withdrawing the hordes of horse which unprofitably consumed them, but must fall under the control of that person who could most readily procure employment and subsistence for the troops; and who, at the same time, could conciliate, as well as overawe, the insubordinate and predatory bands, of all casts and descriptions, composing the Deccan soldiery.

Whilst he suppressed his latent designs, and partly admitted the justice of Sreeput Rao's observations, he endeavoured, by his commanding eloquence, to arouse enthusiasm or ambition in the Raja, by recapitulating the conquests of his illustrious grandfather, and reminding him of the powerful kings, the mighty emperor, with whom he had successfully contended: he painted the present condition of India,—the weakness, indolence, and imbecility of the Moghuls,—the activity, energy

and enterprize of the Mahrattas; he observed, that "if the great Sivajee had been of the same opinion as the Pritee Needee, he would have thought it necessary, before venturing into the Carnatic, to reduce Beejapoor and Golcondah. As to their domestic quarrels beyond the Kistna, it would be time to think of them hereafter; and that by the influence of the Raja's good fortune, every desire would be accomplished." After a speech on one occasion of considerable length, which seemed to have a great effect on Shao and all present: "Now is our time," said this gallant Peishwa, "to drive strangers from the land of Hindoos, and to acquire immortal renown. By directing our efforts to Hindoostan, the Mahratta flag in your reign shall fly from the Kistna to the Attock."—"You shall plant it on the Himmalya," exclaimed the Raja*, "you are indeed a noble son of a worthy father."

Bajee Rao improved the opportunity by urging Shao not to think of minor objects, and alluding to the Moghul empire, "let us strike," said he, "at the trunk of the withering tree, the branches must fall of themselves." †

At what time this consent was obtained, or in what year the original commission was issued, is not ascertained. The form of obtaining the Raja's authority, on all such occasions, was rigidly observed by the Peishwas, at a stage when their supremacy was very far advanced; because, by virtue

* "*In the Kunur Khund,*" (beyond the Himmalya mountains,) is the literal translation of Shao's exclamation.

† Mahratta MSS.

of that authority, and their station as Mookh (or chief) Purdhan, even when their usurpation became complete, it suited the Bramin character, of acting as nominal servants and real masters, to rule the Mahratta chiefs as the delegate of their Prince.

But as both the remote and immediate causes of the Mahratta power are only to be explained by fixing our attention, as much on the general state of the country, as on their domestic policy, the affairs of the Moghuls are now, more than ever, interwoven with this history.

The departure of Nizam Ool Moolk for his government in the Deccan, in a manner which bespoke distrust, aggravated by contempt, excited anger and revenge in the mind of the emperor. Secret orders were sent to Mubariz Khan, Soobehdar of Hyderabad, to raise an army, and oppose Nizam Ool Moolk. The viceroyalty of the Deccan, for which he received a firman, was to be the reward of his success.

Nizam Ool Moolk endeavoured, by his usual artifice of creating sedition, to break the power of his rival, and remained some months negociating before he advanced against him. He at last arrived at Aurungabad, in July 1724, and after protracted discussion, when his plans had partly succeeded, he took the field, and a decisive battle was fought at Shukurkhera, about the 1st October, in which Mubariz Khan, after great efforts of personal valour, was surrounded and slain. He was gallantly supported by four of his sons, two of whom fell with him, and two were desperately wounded. Nizam Ool Moolk sent the Khan'

head to court, with a congratulatory letter on the victory attained by the emperor's arms.

When Mubariz Khan began to make head in the Deccan, he threw a strong garrison into Golcondah, under Khwajeh Ahud, another of his sons, supported by Sundool Khan, who had long been governor of that place: many other forts were commanded by officers in his interest, and as his cause was popular, Nizam Ool Moolk saw the necessity of gaining or reducing Khwajeh Ahud, and of obtaining possession of the forts as soon as possible. He, therefore, marched towards Hyderabad, where, after some time, he effected his design by conciliation. The emperor, in order to reduce the power of Nizam Ool Moolk as much as possible, had issued a firman, depriving him of his governments in Guzerat and Malwa; Sur Boolund Khan was appointed to the former, and Raja Geerdhur* Buhadur to the latter; as the troops in the interest of the Nizam had been withdrawn from Malwa to support his pretensions in the Deccan, the Raja Geerdhur occupied the province without opposition. †

Shujaet Khan was appointed deputy governor of Guzerat by Sur Boolund Khan; but although Hamed Khan, who had been left in charge of the province, on the part of his nephew Nizam Ool

* He was a Nagur Bramin, a tribe common in Guzerat, who, since the times of the Mahomedan kings of that country, had been distinguished in the Mahomedan service, both as men of business, and as soldiers.

† Seyr Mutuakhereen, Khuzaneh Amirah, Mahratta MSS., &c.

Moolk, could not prevent his occupying the capital, he determined not to relinquish his government without a struggle. Having repaired to Dohud, he invited Kantajee Kudum Bhanday, one of Shao's officers, to join him; an invitation, which Kantajee, on promise of getting the Chouth, readily embraced. They first came to Kuppurwunj, where Hamed Khan, having established a correspondence with his friends at Ahmedabad, procured correct intelligence of Shujaet Khan's movements, watched his opportunity, and attacked, defeated, and slew him, within a few miles of Ahmedabad, where Hamed Khan's authority was again acknowledged. On this event, Roostum Ally Khan, the brother of Shujaet Khan, Foujdar of Surat, who had just gained some advantages over Peelajee Gaekwar in the neighbourhood of that city, made a truce with Peelajee, and invited him to join in an attack on Hamed Khan. Peelajee had been previously engaged by the emissaries of Nizam Ool Moolk, to assist his uncle Hamed Khan, but accepted the overtures of Roostum Ally, until he could ascertain precisely which side was the most advantageous. He accompanied Roostum Ally towards Ahmedabad, crossed the Myhie at Fazilpoor, and had a skirmish with Hamed Khan at Arass, where Roostum Ally drove back his opponents by the fire of his artillery. By this time, Peelajee had made his bargain with Hamed Khan, and recommended Roostum Ally to charge the fugitives, leaving his guns to the care of a party in the rear; a fatal advice, which Roostum Ally had no sooner followed than Peelajee overturned the gun

carriages, and joined in attacking his late ally. Roostum Ally defended himself with bravery, until his reduced numbers showed him the impossibility of escape, when he stabbed himself to the heart, in order to avoid the ignominious treatment he expected in case of being made prisoner.

A. D. 1725. Peelajee's treachery was rewarded by an equal share of the Chouth with Kantajee, and both, in conjunction, proceeded to levy their assignments. But the division of the money led to perpetual disputes; Peelajee, as the agent of Dhabaray Senaputtee, considered himself the superior authority in Guzerat, and Kantajee, as an officer of the Rajas, despised his pretensions. For some time these differences only produced heavier impositions on the towns and villages; until, on their approach to Cambay, where they began as usual to burn the suburbs for the purpose of intimidation, the inhabitants, aware of their dissensions, affecting to consider Kantajee the superior, sent a messenger to Peelajee hinting this circumstance, and offering him 20,000 rupees to leave the place. Peelajee, exasperated by the insult, confined the messenger, Kantajee insisted on his being released, and both flew to arms to assert their prerogative. After a severe conflict, within sight of the walls, Peelajee was discomfited, and retired to Mahtur, a village near Kaira. The contribution from Cambay was levied by the victor, and five thousand rupees demanded from the English factory, where the agents pleaded exemption, in consequence of privilege of trade from the "Shao Raja," but at which "the armed villains," as Mr. Innes, the chief of the

factory, in bitterness of heart, terms them, "only laughed."

Hamed Khan, foreseeing the desertion of one or other of his allies, made them sign an agreement, by which the Chouth east of the Myhie was assigned to Peelajee, and that to the west to Kantajee. The Mahrattas still preserved their original custom of retiring to quarters during the monsoon; and soon after the battle at Cambay, Peelajee retired to Sonegurh, near Surat, and Kantajee to a Jagheer district he held in Candeish.

Sur Boolund Khan, who had been unjustly removed from Cabul, was, at this season of difficulty, courted by the emperor, and earnestly solicited to repair to his government in Guzerat, for the purpose of suppressing the formidable insurrection of Hamed Khan. The emperor was the more urgent, as he had been disappointed in a scheme he had meditated of controlling the Tooranee Moghuls, by the release of Abdoollah Khan, the elder of the Syuds who dethroned Ferokhsere; but the unprincipled courtiers sacrificed him to their envy and fear, and removed him by poison. Sur Boolund Khan consented to assume the government, and every facility being afforded, as he was an excellent and popular officer, a large army was soon assembled under his command, and though delayed for a time by the emperor's professing his intention of accompaning him, at last proceeded on his route to Ahmedabad. Nizam Ool Moolk, aware of the abilities of his uncle's opponent, wrote to him to resign the province with a good grace, but Hamed

Khan, not choosing to follow this suggestion, prepared to defend himself. He had almost despaired of being joined by the Mahrattas, and was obliged to leave Ahmedabad defended by a weak garrison, and retire before the advanced division of Sur Boolund Khan's army. He had only reached Mahmoodabad when he heard that the Mahrattas had crossed the Myhie, and as soon as they joined him, he returned to Ahmedabad. But a party in the city, in order to pay court to the new governor, had overpowered his troops and forced them out. Hamed Khan encamped at the Shah-i-Bagh, a royal garden still in existence, on the day that Sur Boolund Khan's advanced troops arrived at Udaledje; but as some of the gun carriages belonging to the main body had broken down, this advanced force discovered that they were farther from support than they had contemplated, and hearing of the proximity of Hamed Khan, immediately took the alarm and began to entrench themselves. This precaution encouraged the Mahrattas; and Hamed Khan, watching their humour, led them on to attack the intrenched camp, where he gained a complete victory. But the advantage was purchased with great loss, and the Mahrattas would not risk another battle. Hamed Khan, therefore, became, like them, a mere plunderer, and commenced a warfare on the Mahratta plan. Foujdars were appointed, and the usual arrangements made with more than ordinary vigour by the new governor; but Kantajee, and Peelajee, continued to plunder during the remainder of the season, until

the approach of the rains, when they took their annual flight.* A deceitful calm succeeded;—the fall of the rain brought back the cheering green, and the beautiful province of Guzerat, which, for hundreds of miles, may vie with the finest parks of the nobles of England, was clothed in all its natural beauties, by rapid verdure and luxuriant vegetation. Tranquillity seemed to reign, where a short time before nothing was to be seen, but perpetual skirmishing; murder, and robbery in open day; caravans pillaged even when strongly escorted, and villages burning or deserted.†

Bajee Rao, in the meantime, took advantage of the confusion caused by Moghul dissensions, to carry his arms into Malwa, where, although opposed by Raja Geerdhur, he was successful for two seasons in obtaining plunder and contribution. It is probable that Nizam Ool Moolk may, at least, have connived at his incursions, but there is no proof of any direct communication with the Peishwa. Bajee Rao, by virtue of the authority vested in him by Shao, granted deeds to Powar, Holkar, and Sindia,

* These flights, the Mahrattas term "*going to the white crow*," which they say alludes to a bird of passage, like a crow, that comes in some parts of the country once a-year; hence also, they have a phrase for a defeated enemy, "*they are off to the white crow.*"

† I have extracted this account from the Mirat Ahmudee, Surat Records, and Khuzaneh Amirah. The last authority mentions a battle near Cambay, in which the Mahrattas sustained a total defeat by Nujeem-ud-deen, and this account is followed by the Seyr Mutuakhereen; but although the skirmishes appear to have been constant, I have not found satisfactory confirmation of any such decisive event, nor of the death of Shaikh Allah Yar, said to have been killed in that action.

to levy Chouth and Surdeshmookhee, and to retain half the Mokassa in payment of their troops.

A. D. 1726. In 1726, the Peishwa was with a very large army under Futih Sing Bhonslay, which proceeded into the Carnatic, plundered the districts, and levied a contribution from Seringapatam.* No particulars of this campaign have been discovered; but it appears by a letter written twelve or thirteen years afterwards, by Bajee Rao to his brother, that they lost a number of men without gaining advantages which had been anticipated. From his former sentiments, and these symptoms of disapprobation, expressed in the letter alluded to, it may be inferred that Bajee Rao had objected to the expedition; but upon his return to Satara, he found more serious reasons of dissatisfaction in the measures pursued by the Pritee Needhee. The cause of his displeasure originated in the artful schemes of Nizam Ool Moolk, which, but for the penetration and vigour of Bajee Rao, would probably have unlinked the connecting chain, by which Ballajee Wishwanath had joined the interests, as well as the inclinations, of most of the Hindoo chieftains of the Deccan.

* Mahratta MSS. Colonel Wilks merely notices this incursion. Besides the MSS. already enumerated, I have perused upwards of twenty MS. histories of the Peishwas. Of the best, two were procured by Ballajee Punt Nathoo at Poona, one was given by Mahdoo Rao Rastia, one sent by Mahdoo Rao Putwurdhun of Merich, and another by Gopaul Rao of Tasgaom. The best Mahratta Buker of the Bhonslays of Nagpoor, is one written for Mr. Jenkins, and sent to me by Captain A. Gordon.

CHAP. XV.

FROM A. D. 1727, TO A. D. 1734.

Plans of Nizam Ool Moolk for consolidating his own power, and of creating dissensions among the Mahrattas. — Negociates with Shao, through the Pritee Needhee, and obtains the relinquishment of the Chouth, in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad. — The agreement disapproved of by the Peishwa. — Nizam Ool Moolk prosecutes his plans, by endeavouring to revive the feud between Shao and Sumbhajee — frustrated by the Peishwa — war. — Able conduct of Bajee Rao — forces Nizam Ool Moolk into terms. Negotiations with Sur Booland Khan. — Bajee Rao obtains grants of the Chouth and Surdesmookhee for Guzerat. — Proceedings of Sumbhajee, Raja of Kolapoor — he is defeated by the Pritee Needhee. — Treaty between the Mahrattas of Satara and Kolapoor. — War between the Peishwa and the Senaputtee. — Battle of Dhuboy — Bajee Rao victorious, and Dhabaray slain. — Nizam Ool Moolk diverts the Peishwa's attack from his own, to the imperial territories. — Agreement between the Peishwa and the Senaputtee relative to Guzerat. — Abhee Sing, Raja of Joudpoor, appointed to supersede Sur Booland Khan. — Policy of Nizam Ool Moolk. — Bajee Rao proceeds to Malwa. — War in Guzerat, between Peelajee Gaekwar and Abhee Sing — the latter sends emissaries on pretence of negociating — Peelajee is assassinated. — The Peishwa is called to the assistance of the Raja Chitoor Sal, in Bundelcund — forces Mohummud Khan Bungush into a fort. — Bundelcund evacuated by the Moghuls. — Territory granted to Bajee Rao as a reward. — Raja Jey Sing appointed governor of Malwa — concludes an agreement with Bajee Rao, and concedes the government to him.

A. D. 1727. THE declining empire of the Moghuls having been thrown into a state of great anarchy by Nizam Ool Moolk, and his countrymen, the Tooranee Moghuls, the Nizam,

relieved from immediate apprehensions from Mohummud Shah, became alarmed at the spreading power of the Mahrattas, and beheld, in their systematic and persevering encroachments on the divided revenue of the Deccan and Carnatic, the extinction of his own resources as well as those of the empire. To avert these evils, by endeavouring to consolidate his own power, and to create divisions among the Mahrattas, the measures which he adopted seem to have been planned with considerable skill; but in forming designs, founded on the character of the people, he overlooked the abilities of his opponent, nor contemplated that he should, in pursuit of his own schemes, only strengthen the power of the Peishwa.

Since the battle of Shukurkhera, Nizam Ool Moolk had fixed his eye on Hyderabad, the ancient capital of the Kootub Shahee kings, as fittest for the seat of government of the independent sovereignty which he himself had founded; and it was very desirable to remove the Mahratta collectors from that quarter, on any terms. Although Nizam Ool Moolk had confirmed the imperial grants in Shao's favour, a great deal of what was yielded was not actually given up; numerous points remained unadjusted; Shao's part of the agreement, to prevent plundering, was not fulfilled, and constant discussions were the consequence. A new authority, for a part of the old Mahratta territory, was granted by Nizam Ool Moolk, which particularly specified the fixed personal Jagheers that Shao agreed to exempt from sequestration. Jagheer assignments in the old territory, about

Poona, which the Nizam had given to Rumbhajee Nimbalkur, one of the disaffected officers who had joined him, were exchanged, for new grants to the eastward, about Kurmulla; a measure on the part of Nizam Ool Moolk, particularly conciliatory to Shao. After this, a settlement was concluded*, through the Pritee Needhee, by which Shao agreed to relinquish the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee, in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad; an equivalent in money was to be paid for the former, and for the latter, Shao received some Jagheer territory, near Indapoor, of which district he was an hereditary Deshmookh†; a Jagheer in Berar was conferred on the Pritee Needhee. Nizam Ool Moolk had thus effected his first object by negotiation, but the exchange met with the decided disapprobation of Bajee Rao, who was ever an enemy to consolidation of the nature in question; and disputes ran so high, between him and the Pritee

* The whole of the particulars of this agreement are not known. Some very long details of the early part of the settlement, which led to the final exchange, are preserved; but the most essential parts, regarding the exchange of the Jagheer, and the fixed payment for the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee, are lost. I do not think they have been purposely destroyed by the Mahrattas, as many years afterwards I find original letters from Mahdoo Rao, the Peishwa, and Nana Furnuwees, written on an occasion, when there were pending negotiations with the Nizam, requesting that search might be made for this document. The Hudeequ-i-alum merely mentions, that Nizam Ool Moolk settled, that the Soobeh of Hyderabad should be exempted from the Surdeshmookhee, and that a ready-money payment should be given in lieu of the Chouth, and the customs.

† Half of this Deshmookhee was purchased by Shahjee, after he entered the service of Mohummud Adil Shah.

Needhee, that Nizam Ool Moolk, encouraged by appearances, and the support and alliance of Chunderseyn Jadow, Rao Rumbha, Nimbalkur * Jagheerdar of Barsee, and Sumbhajee, Raja of Kolapoor, resolved to complete the design he had formed. With this view, he proposed to espouse the cause of Sumbhajee, and to endeavour to create a complete division in Shao's government, by reviving the former feuds between Shao and Sumbhajee. His connection with Dhabaray and Peelajee Gaekwar; his hopes of finding, through the Raja Geerdhur, employment for the Peishwa's officers in Malwa; and the boasted superiority of his own troops, were strong inducements for making the attempt.

Nizam Ool Moolk commenced, by a formal hearing of the claims of Sumbhajee, in a demand made for an equal division of the revenue; and, according to a prevalent custom in the Deccan, he sequestrated the property in dispute, by removing the collectors of the Surdeshmookhee, and displacing the Mokassadars of Shao, until their respective rights should be equitably adjusted. Assuming this privilege as viceroy, he pretended to become the friend and arbiter of both parties; but Bajee Rao was not to be duped by the old artifice of engaging the Mahratta cousins in an hereditary dispute, and quickly turned the Nizam's weapons to his own advantage; for Shao, true to

* The Nimbalkurs of Barsee are distinct from the Nimbalkurs of Kurmulla; the head of the latter has the title of Rao Rumbha. The former is one of the family of Hybut Rao Surlushkur.

the inherent feeling of a Mahratta, of whom, even amongst the peasantry, the mildest men often became the most violent of human beings when the possession of wutun is concerned, and who, for some time, had been reconciled to Nizam Ool Moolk, was at once, on hearing of this interference, aroused to implacable resentment against him, and for the time, against all who had formerly vindicated or now dared to justify his conduct. He looked to Bajee Rao for counsel and for vengeance; for these he would have bartered life, and for these he now virtually sold the supremacy of his empire. He, at first, was determined to march in person, but it was represented that such a procedure would place him on an equality with Sumbhajee, of Kolapoor; whereas, none but the emperor was worthy of contending with the king of the Hindoos. Full powers were therefore delegated to Bajee Rao; and the great influence which the Peishwa had acquired, may be observed in the promptitude with which many of the most unruly and factious of the Sillidar families willingly gathered round the standard of the nation.

Nizam Ool Moolk perceived his mistake, and sought to amend it by writing to Shao and the Pritee Needhee, that he was solely actuated by a wish to benefit the Raja, in order to prevent the usurpation of the Concanee Bramins, by whose creatures every situation was filled; that the Mokassadars, and collectors of the Surdeshmookhee had been replaced by others belonging to the Raja's relation, Sumbhajee, whom he had appointed the Raja's deputy, as Surdeshmookh of the six Soobehs

of the Deccan; and that the Raja, when freed from the control the Bramins alluded to, might afterwards appoint agents entirely of his own selection. But the animosity of Shao, worked up to the highest pitch by the Peishwa's representations, was not to be appeased by offers, which, under the colouring given to them by Bajee Rao, only added insult to injury. Both parties, therefore, prepared to attack each other, as soon as the rains should subside and enable their horse to cross the rivers.

Nizam Ool Moolk awaited the junction of his allies. Bajee Rao was first in the field, and laid waste the district of Jaulna before the Moghul army was prepared to oppose him. Early in the month of November, the Mahrattas were attacked by Ewuz Khan, at the head of the Nizam's advanced force; Bajee Rao partially engaged him, but retired, first towards Mahoor, then returned rapidly towards Aurungabad; without stopping to plunder, he gave out that Burhanpoor should be reduced to ashes, and marched on to Candeish, laying waste the country in his route. Ewuz Khan, followed by Nizam Ool Moolk, pursued him, in order to save Burhanpoor. Bajee Rao, as soon as the pursuing army with all their equipments had passed the Ajunta Ghaut, sent a party towards Burhanpoor, wheeled off with the main body to his left, and proceeded with great speed to Guzerat, where he not only plundered, but taking advantage of Nizam Ool Moolk's notorious duplicity, and the enmity subsisting between him and Sur Boolund Khan, he caused it to be believed by the latter, that the Nizam was the supporter of

his invasion; a rumour which gained strength, by accounts of the approach of the latter towards Surat. Nizam Ool Moolk, after being misled, losing some time at Burhanpoor, and fruitlessly following the Peishwa, at last perceived his error, retraced his steps to the Deccan, and determined to destroy Poona. But he had not reached Ahmednugur, when Bajee Rao, having passed the Karsarbharee Ghaut, totally destroyed the districts of Gandapoor and Byzapoor, which, from former tenure, or the late exchanges, were wholly Jagheer. Nizam Ool Moolk recrossed the Godavery, when the Peishwa, after some days skirmishing, drew him into a situation favourable to his purpose, set fire to the grass, destroyed the forage, and effectually straitened his supplies. The Mahrattas suffered severely by the fire of the artillery, but they cut off such detached parties as they could overpower, and drove off the draught cattle. At last, in some broken ground, around which, for several miles, there was no water, the Mahrattas completely surrounded the Nizam's army, and so effectually impeded his march, that night closed before he could extricate himself from his embarrassing situation. Nizam Ool Moolk had foreseen that this species of warfare would be practised, and in entering upon the campaign, expected that the part of light troops should be performed by his associates. He had reproached them with their want of vigour, and recommended their adopting the same system against their countrymen, as Bajee Rao was practising. But Chunderseyn Jadow represented, that

A.D. 1728.

most of his troops were Moghuls; and Sumbhajee acknowledged, not only that his numbers were inadequate, but that he suspected his carcoons were in league with the enemy. There is something explanatory of the nature of the alliance, and characteristic of the Mahratta; in Sumbhajee's requesting, at the conclusion of an interview, to say a word in private to Nizam Ool Moolk, and then begging of him, "not to give the money, on account of the subsidy, to his carcoons, as they would defraud the troops;" whilst the Bramins, by another representation equally private, represent, "that Sumbhajee would spend the whole on dancing girls; dissipate it in drinking and debauchery; and leave them to starvation, and the troops to revolt."

Nizam Ool Moolk had never been so dependant on Mahratta allies; the attacks he had experienced, and the privation his army endured, obliged him to accede to a negotiation with the Peishwa, which was begun by Bajee Rao, through Ewuz Khan. The Nizam, however, first forced his way to a situation where water was procurable; Bajeerao demanded, that Sumbhajee should be sent to his camp; that security should be afforded for the future collection of the Mahratta shares of revenue, by giving up several fortified places; and that all arrears, not yet realized, should be made good. Nizam Ool Moolk agreed to all the artcles, except that of delivering up his ally. Bajee Rao represented that he was a near relation of the Raja's, and that he should be treated with equal respect; but it was at last settled, that Nizam Ool Moolk should

guarantee his safe arrival in Panalla, when Shao should be at liberty to take what steps he might think proper for the settlement of their family dispute.

After an interchange of presents *, when Bajee-Rao and Nizam Ool Moolk met for the first time, the armies retired upon the conclusion of the treaty.† Its final ratification was of consequence to both parties, but especially to Bajee Rao, who was then negociating with Sur Boolund Khan, in hopes of obtaining the cession of the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee of Guzerat. Sur Booland Khan, who had at first exerted himself to check Mahratta incursions, was induced to listen to the terms proposed by Bajee Rao, in order to save the country from total ruin. He had repeatedly applied to court for a supply of money, as it was at first impossible to raise any revenue of consequence from the districts in their exhausted state, but his demands were entirely neglected. He had endeavoured to conciliate Peelajee and Kantajee by grants of Chouth, but they collected all the revenue, and afforded no protection to the country. Chimnajee Appa arrived with a large army, exacted a heavy contribution from Pitlaud, and plundered Dholka; but he promised, on the part of his brother, that if the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee were yielded, the

* This interchange of presents is termed Zeafut, a feast, or entertainment; a Mahomedan has no objections to eat food prepared by a Hindoo on such occasions; but on the part of the Hindoo, the Zeafut is confined to receiving the presents.

† Mahratta MSS. Hudeequ-i-Alum.

districts should be effectually secured from the depredations of all other freebooters. Sur Boolund Khan at length agreed to the Peishwa's proposals, and granted deeds, in the year 1729, to Sham Rao, the wukeel of Bajee Rao, the minister of the Raja Shao, ceding the *Surdeshmookhee*, or ten per cent., of the whole revenue, both on the land and customs, with the exception of the port of Surat and the district around it; together with the *Chouth*, or one fourth of the whole collections on the land and customs, excepting Surat, and five per cent. on the revenues of the city of Ahmedabad. *

A. D. 1729.

Sur Boolund Khan mentions in the deeds, that these cessions in Guzerat are granted in consequence of the progress of improvement, the increasing population, and the general tranquillity in the Deccan. The conditions affixed to the deed for the Surdeshmookhee, are nearly similiar to those mentioned in the same grant for the Deccan provinces: but the deed for the Chouth is more specific; two thousand five hundred horse are constantly to be kept up; the fourth part of the actual collections only, to be paid; no more than two or three persons to be placed in each district as collectors, on the part of the Mahrattas; no extra demands whatever to be made on the ryots; and every assistance to be afforded in maintaining the

* Original deeds from the records of the government of the Peishwas, made over to me, by the Honourable M. Elphinstone.

imperial authority. One condition attached to the deed is, that Bajee Rao, on the part of Shao, agrees to prevent Mahratta subjects from taking part with, or in any way supporting disaffected Zumeendars, and other disturbers of the public peace; a clause which is fully explained by the opposing interests of Bajee Rao, Kantajee Kudum, and Trimbuck Rao Dhabary. Peelajee Gaekwar, the agent of Dhabaray, was, it appears, leagued with the Bheels and Koolees of the country, and on that account especially, was considered particularly formidable by the Mahomedans. After these deeds were obtained the Mokassa, and the collection of a part of the Surdeshmookhee, were assigned to Dhabaray; but jealousy of Bajee Rao's interference in the affairs of the province, occasioned an implacable enmity on the part of that chief.

Whilst Bajee Rao's presence was necessary to the northward, in order to support Chimnajee in Guzerat, Sumbhajee, Raja of Kolapoor, instigated by Oodajee Chowan, refused to listen to overtures made by Shao, and encamped in bravado, on the north side of the Warna, with all his baggage women and equipments, and began to plunder the country. An opportunity thus presented itself for the Pritee Needhee to recover his lost influence with Shao, which he partly effected by surprising the camp of Sumbhajee and Oodajee Chowan, and driving them to Panalla with the loss of the whole of their baggage. Many prisoners were taken by the Pritee Needhee; amongst others, Tara Bye, and her daughter-in-law, Rajis Bye, the widow of Sivajee of Kolapoor; both these persons were placed

in confinement in the fort of Satara. This
A.D. 1730. defeat brought on an immediate accomodation. The Mahratta districts and claims, with the exception of some forts, in the tract of which the rivers Warna and Kistna to the north, and the Toongbuddra to the south, were the boundaries, were wholly ceded. Kopaul, near the Toongbuddra was relinquished by Shao in exchange for Rutnaguiry; and the territory of the Concan, extending from Salsee to Ankolah, was comprehended in the sovereignty of Kolapoor.

The Gurhee of Wurgaom, occupied by Oodajee Chowan, on the south bank of the Warna, which in the border warfare, had cost many lives, was destroyed by mutual consent, but the claims of Chowan were left undetermined. Merich, Tasgaom, Hutnee, several villages along the northern bank of the Kistna, and some fortified places in the Beejapoor district, were given up to Shao. This treaty was offensive and defensive, and provided for the division of further conquests to the south of the Toongbuddra, which, on co-operation, were to be equally shared. Grants of Enam land or hereditary rights conferred by either party, within their respective boundaries, were confirmed.

Although enemies were not wanting to
A.D. 1731. detract from the reputation of the Peishwa, and to extol that of his rivals, the success of the Pritee Needhee, did not materially affect the ascendancy which Bajee Rao had attained; but Nizam Ool Moolk was still bent on opposing him, and found a fit instrument for his purpose in Trimbuck Rao Dhabaray. Ever since the Peishwa had

obtained the deeds from Sur Boolund Khan, Dhabary had been negociating with the other Mahratta chiefs, and assembling troops in Guzerat. At length, finding himself at the head of thirty-five thousand men, he had resolved to march for the Deccan in the ensuing season. Bajee Rao was well aware of the Senaputtee's enmity, but was not alarmed by his preparations until he discovered that Nizam Ool Moolk was to support him in the Deccan. Immediately on being apprized of their intention he determined to anticipate them; although, when joined by all his adherents, his whole army did not amount to above half that of Dhabaray. The latter gave out, that he was proceeding to protect the Raja's authority, and was supported by Peelajee Gaekwar, Kantajee, and Rughoojee Kuddum Bhanday, Oodajee, and Anund Rao Powar*, Chimmajee Pundit†, Koor Buhadur, with many others. Bajee Rao proved, that Dhabaray Senaputtee, was in alliance with Nizam Ool Moolk; and declared that he was leagued for the purpose of dividing the Mahratta sovereignty with the Raja

* Previous to the formation of this league, the Powars, whose rendezvous continued about Dhar in Malwa, had been always at war with Peelajee Gaekwar.

† This was probably Chimmajee Damoodhur. He was a very active marauder; but Chimna Raja, so often mentioned in the Surat records, means Chimnajee, Bajee Rao's brother: even when the army was commanded by the Peishwa in person, the force is often mentioned as that of Chimna Raja. The members of the factories were frequently deceived by false reports, and they make some ridiculous mistakes in the names, which it is sometimes difficult to detect. The *Sow Roger*, for Shao Raja, though not a very elegant alteration, is easily discovered.

of Kolapoor, a measure inconsistent with sound policy, and contrary to the divine ordinances of the Shasters.

The preparations of Nizam Ool Moolk hastened the march of Bajee Rao; and as his army, though so inferior in numerical strength, was composed of the old Pagah horse, and some of the best of the Mahratta Mankurees, he moved rapidly towards Guzerat, but he commenced negociating, from the day of his quitting Poona, and continued it until the hour of attack. His advanced troops, however, under Awjee Kowray, having fallen in with a party of the enemy under Dummajee, one of the sons of Peelajee Gaekwar, soon after crossing the Nerbuddah, they were attacked and completely defeated. Bajee Rao, not discouraged by this unfortunate commencement, determined, when about to engage his countrymen, contrary to his usual plan, to close with them immediately. The new levies did not await the shock, but fled on the first charge; Kantajee Kuddum went off with the fugitives, leaving the old troops of Khundee Rao Dhabary to defend his son. Trimbuck Rao was mounted on an elephant, and seeing the flight of his troops, chained the animal's legs. Bajee Rao was on horseback, and exerted himself with all the energy so great an occasion demanded; but the field was still disputed with obstinacy, and the issue doubtful, when Trimbuck Rao, in the act of drawing his bow, was shot by a random ball from a matchlock; his death left complete victory to Bajee Rao with all but nominal control of the Mahratta sovereignty.

In this battle, which took place between
April 1. Baroda and Dhuboy, in Guzerat, about the first of April, Jowjee Dhabaray, Mullojee Powar, and one of the sons of Peelajee Gaekwar, were slain with their commander. Oodajee Powar and Chimmajee Pundit, were taken prisoners. Anund Rao Powar, Peelajee Gaekwar, and Koor Buhadur were wounded, but escaped. * Both Dubhoy † and Baroda were at this time in the hands of Peelajee; the latter was afterwards taken from him by the Moghuls, but Bajee Rao, at the suggestion of Sur Boolund Khan, then intended to reduce it for himself. A treaty was, however, concluded in the month of August, and the Peishwa, at the close of the monsoon, returned to Satara. He would have punished the treachery of Nizam Ool Moolk, but that crafty politician, whose schemes had recoiled on himself, warded a blow which he could with difficulty have withstood, by directing its aim against the head of the empire.

Bajee Rao readily acceded to the Nizam's views; it suited his favourite policy, and it gave employment to persons likely to disturb the domestic arrangements he aimed at establishing. Troops were immediately despatched towards Malwa under his brother Chimnajee, whilst he himself remained, for a time, engaged in the interior arrangements of government, at Poona and Satara. Such appear to

* Mahratta MSS. Original letters, in the hand-writing of Bajee Rao. Surat Records. Letter from Mr. Daniel Innes, factor at Cambay, dated 7th April, 1731.

† Dubhoy first fell into the hands of Oodajee Powar, from whom it was taken by Peelajee.

have been, the rise and progress of the events and intrigues, which ended in a secret compact between BajeeRao and Nizam Ool Moolk, securing to the former, supremacy as Peishwa, and to the latter, a kingdom in the Deccan.

The victory over Dhabaray, like the issue of every civil war, left impressions on the minds of many, not easily effaced; but the Peishwa adopted every means of conciliation in his power. It had been a custom to feed some thousand Bramins for several days every year at Tullygaom *, near Poona, the Enam village of Dhabaray; this charitable practice Bajee Rao continued at Poona, and gave sums of money, at the same time, to the assembled Shastrees and Waeedeeks. This festival, continued by his successors, was known by the name of Dukshina. †

Yeswunt Rao, the son of the deceased, was raised to the rank of Senaputtee, but being too young to take the management upon himself, his mother, Ooma Bye, became his guardian; and Peelajee Gaekwar, their former Mootaliq, was confirmed in that situation, with the title of Sena Khas Kheyl, in addition to his hereditary one, of Shumsher Buhadur. ‡

* There are two Tullygaoms near Poona, one north-east, or Tullygaom Dumdairay, and the other north-west, Tullygoam Dhabaray, on the Bombay road, the one above alluded to.

† Dukshina means a charitable donation in money.

‡ I have in my possession, three accounts of the origin of the Gaekwar titles, from respectable sources, all differing from each other, and from the text: after all, I may be wrong, but even in such an insignificant matter, I have spared no pains to to be correct. I have seldom given translations of the Mahratta

In order to prevent disputes, an agreement was drawn up under the authority of Shao, and subscribed by the Peishwa and Senaputtee, stipulating that neither party should enter the boundary of the other in Guzerat and Malwa. Within the limits of the former province, the Senaputtee was to have entire management; but he bound himself to pay one half of the revenue to government, through the Peishwa. All contributions, levied from countries not specified in the deeds given under the authority of Sur Boolund Khan, were to be made over to the Raja after deducting expences.

The cession of Chouth and Surdeshmookhee from the province of Guzerat, was highly disapproved at the imperial court, although no attempt had been made to assist Sur Boolund Khan, or to avert the calamity and disgrace which that officer foretold, must be the consequence of neglecting his applications for assistance. Sur Boolund Khan was superseded by Abhee Sing, Raja of Joudpoor, who proceeded with the army to take possession of his new government. Sur Boolund Khan opposed him for a considerable time, but at last an accommodation took place, and the latter went off towards Delhi, where he was afterwards extremely ill-used, and unworthily disgraced. Although an

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titles, as even the Mahrattas themselves, differ in the significations attached to them, and as I know nothing of Sanscrit, I was dependant on the Bramins about me, for the few interpretations I have given. Sena Khas Kheyl has been translated, "*commander of the special band*,"—perhaps, "*leader of the sovereign's tribe*," would be more correct.

enemy of Nizam Ool Moolk, the disrespect and indignity with which Sur Boolund Khan was treated, is given as the reason for the intimate connection which was now cemented between the former and Bajee Rao. The Mahomedan historian * is partly right; but selfish not generous motives furnish the real interpretation of Nizam Ool Moolk's consideration for Sur Boolund Khan. Perceiving Bajee Rao's complete ascendancy, the appointment of the Hindoo prince Abhee Sing to supersede Sur Boolund Khan, the imbecility of the emperor, and the treachery as well as depraved venality of his courtiers; knowing also that he had rendered himself in the highest degree obnoxious, Nizam Ool Moolk had good grounds for apprehending that the Peishwa might be able to obtain the viceroyalty of the Deccan. The plan, however, which he adopted, under these circumstances, belongs to the higher order of politics, and seems to have been framed for the purpose of diverting the Mahrattas from the destruction of the resources of his own country, and of making his own power a balance between that of the emperor and the Peishwa.

Previously to invading Malwa in person, Bajee Rao had an interview with Nizam Ool Moolk, and endeavoured to induce him to advance a subsidy for the assistance he was affording; but the Nizam considered the inducement sufficiently strong without paying his auxiliaries. The districts in Candeish, by the present agreement, were to be protected by the Peishwa in his passage to and from

* Seyr Mutuakhereen.

Malwa, and nothing more than the usual tribute was to be levied in the six Soobehs of the Deccan, a proposal to which Bajee Rao readily acceded. *

A. D. 1732. Various parts of the province of Malwa had been already laid under contribution by Powar, Holkar, and Sindia. The Raja Gheerdhur, on every occasion, had exerted himself with great fortitude and energy, but was at length killed in an action with Oodajee Powar and Chimnajee Pundit † in 1729; but his relation, Dia Buhadur, having been appointed Soobehdar in his room, continued to repel the Maratta inroads with bravery, and frequently with success; till at last, attacked by Chimnajee Appa, the Peishwa's brother, Peelajee Jadow, and Mulhar Rao Holkar, at Talah ‡ near Dhar, he was also slain, and his troops were defeated. Bajee Rao, on crossing the Nerbuddah, assumed command of the army in Malwa, and sent his brother and Peelajee Jadow back to Satara, to maintain his influence at court, and to concert measures for settling the Concan, which was in a very disturbed state; the Peishwa having been obliged to withdraw a force, at first intended for the entire settlement of that country, including the reduction of Jinjeera.

In the mean time, after the Peishwa left Guzerat, the Foujdar of Abhee Sing recovered the fort

* Mahratta MSS., and original letters.

† This Chimnajee Pundit was not the brother of Bajee Rao, but the person taken by the Peishwa, in the battle with the Senaputtee, already mentioned.

‡ Original letter, in the hand-writing of Chimnajee Appa. I take the name of the place where the battle was fought, from Sir J. Malcolm's Report on Malwa.

of Baroda; but the cause of Peelajee Gaekwar was popular, he had gained several victories, and occupied many of the principal Thannas, when Abhee Sing, on pretence of entering upon a final agreement with him, sent some emissaries, apparently for the purpose of settling the preliminaries. These emissaries had frequent interviews with Peelajee, till at last, one evening, after having sat until it was dusk, they took leave and went outside the tent, when one of their number, on pretence of having forgot something of consequence, returned to the tent, and whilst affecting to whisper in Peelajee's ear, drew a dagger and stabbed him to the heart. The assassin was instantly killed, but the rest of the emissaries escaped. This murder was perpetrated at Dhakoor, a well known village in the district of Tausrah. *

The murder of Peelajee Gaekwar was not attended by the advantages expected from it by Abhee Sing; Dilla, Dessaye of Padra near Baroda, who had lived in friendship with Peelajee, instigated the Koolees and Bheels to rise all over the country, and watching an opportunity, afforded by the march of troops to quell the insurgents, sent intelligence to Mahadajee Gaekwar, the brother of Peelajee, who then occupied Jumboseer, and advised him to attack Baroda. He accordingly followed this recommendation and obtained possession of it about the same time that Dia Buhadur was killed in Malwa, in 1732, since which time it has always belonged to the family of Gaekwar. But besides this success, on the part of the Mah-

* Mirat Ahmudee.

rattas, Dummajee, the eldest surviving son of Peelajee, advanced from Sonegurh with a great force, occupied many of the principal districts in the east of Guzerat, and made incursions as far as Joudpoor, till Abhee Sing, resigning Ahmedabad to a deputy, was forced to return to protect his paternal dominions.

A.D. 1733. Mohummud Khan Bungush, governor of Allahabad, was the new Soobehdar appointed to Malwa. Shortly after the period of his obtaining the government, he entered Bundelcund, and established himself in the territory of the Raja Chitoor Sal. On this proceeding the Rajpoot prince solicited aid from Bajee Rao, which was readily afforded. The Peishwa moved expeditiously into Bundelcund, surrounded Bungush, and forced him to seek refuge in a fort, where he was reduced to the greatest distress, till rescued by a band of Afghans of his own tribe, headed by his son. The province, however, was completely evacuated by his troops, and Chitoor Sal, so entirely satisfied with the aid afforded by his new ally, that he conferred on him a fort and district in the neighbourhood of Jhansee, worth two and a quarter lacks of rupees of annual revenue, adopted him as his son, and at his death, which happened very soon after, bestowed on him one third of his possessions, or an equal share with his sons Juggut Raj-jee Deo and Hurdesa, the former styled Raja of Kalpee, and the latter of Bundelcund; but it would appear, that although they may have managed separately, they shared in common. *

* Original Papers. Poona Records.

A.D. 1734. After the defeat of Mohummud Khan Bungush, Raja Jey Sing was appointed by the emperor to the government of the provinces of Agra and Malwa. Nothing could be more favorable to the views of Bajee Rao, but as Jey Sing was now situated, the honour of the Rajpoot was at variance with the subsisting understanding between him and the Mahrattas. This circumstance may account for his hesitating to comply with their demands, but he at last came to an agreement with Bajee Rao, yielded him the government of Malwa, in the following year, and for the time, the emperor, by Jey Sing's persuasions, tacitly acquiesced in the arrangement. *

* Seyr Mutuakhereen. Mahratta MSS. Hudeequ-i-alum.

CHAP. XV.

FROM A. D. 1734, TO A. D. 1739.

Mahrattas affairs. — Rughoojee Bhonslay is appointed Sena Sahib Soobeh. — Affairs of the Concan — of Sawunt — Angria. — Unsuccessful campaigns of the Pritee Needhee against the Seedee. — Revolution at Jinjeera. — Peishwa returns from Malwa — proceedings. — Arrangements made in the Concan. — Mulharjee Holkar's incursions — policy of the vizier Khan Dowran. — Nizam Ool Moolk courted by the Emperor. — Muzifir Khan marches against the Mahrattas. — Holkar's conduct towards him. — Holkar continues levying contributions — makes an incursion into Guzerat. — Momin Khan appointed governor of that province. — Bajee Rao's pecuniary embarrassments. — Negotiations with the imperial court — obtains an assignment on Malwa, and a tribute from the Rajpoots — further negotiations — obtains the Surdeshpandeegeeree of the Deccan. — Nizam Ool Moolk resolves on assisting the Emperor against the Mahrattas. — Preparations of the Moghuls — and of Bajee Rao. — Sadut Khan drives the Mahrattas across the Jumna. — Bajee Rao appears at the gates of Delhi — operations — retires — returns to the Deccan. — Circumstances regarding Angria, which led to a war with the Portuguese, and the invasion of Salsette. — The Peishwa is called off to Malwa, to oppose Nizam Ool Moolk — who, joined by the imperial army, advances from Delhi. — Bajee Rao surrounds Nizam Ool Moolk at Bhopaul — forces him into terms — their nature. — Prosecution of hostilities against the Portuguese — conduct of the English — its causes — progress of the Mahrattas. — War between the Peishwa and Rughoojee Bhonslay — Disastrous intelligence from Delhi, occasioned by the arrival and proceedings of Nadir Shah. — Chimnajee Appa prosecutes a successful war against the Portuguese. — Memorable siege of Bassein. — Nadir Shah retires from Delhi.

A. D. 1734. I HAVE thus endeavoured to show the steps by which the Mahrattas spread themselves in Guzerat, and established a footing in Malwa; their domestic policy, their affairs in regard to Berar and the Concan, now claim our attention: before we return to their operations in Malwa, or enter on the more important proceedings, which the present chapter will record.

During the Peishwa's absence, Kanhojee Bhonslay, the Sena Sahib Soobeh, had been accused of disobedience, and confined at Satara; and Rughoojee, the son of Kanhojee's cousin Bembajee, had been appointed to the situation of Sena Sahib Soobeh in his stead. Rughoojee had served with a small party of horse, both under his relation Kanhojee, and with one of the petty Mahomedan * princes in Gondwaneh; his station was too humble to bring him into general notice, but he had, in a confined sphere, distinguished himself by superior intelligence, activity, and spirit. The particulars of the intrigue by which Kanhojee Bhonslay was deprived of his title and Jagheer, are not known, but from the selection of Rughoojee as his successor, agreeably to the choice of the Raja, it is probable that Bajee Rao had no share in it. Rughoojee had accompanied Shao in his excursions, and from being a very bold and expert hunter, had ingratiated himself with the Raja, and obtained a great ascendancy over him. Shao married him to the sister of one of his own wives, of the Sirkay family, which, except their having the

* They were originally Hindoo Polygars, and converted by Aurungzebe.

same surname, and that they may possibly * have been originally relations and rivals for the hereditary right of Patell of their village, is the only connection which can be traced between the families of Satara and Nagpoor.

On receiving the Sunnuds for Berar, Rughoojee gave a bond to maintain a body of five thousand horse for the service of the state; to pay an annual sum of nine lacks of rupees; and, exclusive of Ghas-dana, a tribute which the Sena Sahib Soobeh since the time of Raja Ram had been allowed to reserve, the half only of all other tribute, prize property, and contributions, was to be accounted for to the head of the government. He also bound himself, to raise ten thousand horse when required, and to accompany the Peishwa, or to proceed to any quarter where he might be ordered.

This arrangement was effected during the absence of Sreeput Rao Pritee Needhee, who had been sent into the Concan by the Raja. The Pritee Needhee, being the friend of Kanhojee Bhonslay, endeavoured to obtain some mitigation of his sentence, and proposed that Akola and Balapoor, in Berar Payeen Ghaut, should be restored, on condition of his maintaining two hundred horse; but it does not appear that this arrangement was carried into effect. Kanhojee was an officer of great enterprize; he had made some partial conquests in Gondwaneh, and headed one incursion into Kut-

* There is a tradition of their having been rivals in an hereditary dispute, which may have been invented to prejudice the Rajas of Satara against the Bhonslays of Nagpoor, and prevent their desire to adopt any member of that powerful family. It is a point of honour to maintain the hereditary difference.

tack. He died at Satara, after having lived there many years a prisoner at large.

Whether Nizam Ool Moolk had made any preparations in consequence of these dissensions, is uncertain; but Chimnajee Appa conceived, or affected to believe, that he meditated an attack. He, therefore, pitched his camp about forty miles east of Satara, leaving Peelajee Jadow with an inconsiderable body of horse; being the only troops at Satara, in the immediate interest of the Peishwa.

When Bajee Rao advanced into Malwa, it was his design to engage the Raja's mind with petty affairs in the Concan. Divisions of authority, contending factions, and the turbulent disposition of some of its inhabitants, afforded ample field, within the small tract from Goa to Bombay, for engaging and fatiguing attention; but as these authorities had also a large share in the transactions of the Bombay government during the last century, they demand, as a record of our own history, particular enumeration. Sawunt, the principal Deshmookh of Waree occupied his hereditary territory in that quarter, but having suffered from Kanhojee Angria's attacks, prior to the late peace between the Rajas of Satara and Kolapoor, he bore an enmity to Angria's family ever after.

Kanhojee Angria's death happened about the end of the year 1728.* During his life, all attempts at reducing his power proved fruitless. The Bombay government, incensed at his piracies and contumelious conduct, joined with the Portuguese

* Mahratta MSS. I am not certain of this date, as I have not observed it in the English Records.

in an expedition against Kolabah. The land forces furnished by that nation, and three English ships of the line, under commodore Matthews, co-operated, but the attempt failed, owing to the cowardice of the Portuguese. This expedition took place in 1722, and two years afterwards, the Dutch with seven ships, two bomb vessels, and a body of troops, made an attempt on Viziadroog, at that time better known by its Moghul name of Gheriah; but this attack also failed. Angria seized many English vessels, and about a year before his death, took the Darby, a ship richly laden, belonging to the East India Company. The crews of his vessels, like all Mahrattas when successful, became very daring, and his forts on the coast were considered impregnable. *

Kanhojee Angria left two legitimate, and three illegitimate sons. The two former succeeded to his possessions; the elder, named Sukkajee, remained at Kolabah, and the younger, Sumbhajee, resided at Severndroog. The elder died a short time after his father, and Sumbhajee, keeping with him the eldest of his half-brothers, appointed the other two to the charge of Kolabah. The eldest of these, Yessajee, had charge of the interior management, whilst Mannajee commanded the naval and military establishment. The latter, some time after, having quarrelled with his family, sought protection and assistance from the Portuguese; and having obtained the aid of some troops, he escaladed Kolabah, and carried it sword in hand. He cruelly

* Orme. Bruce's Annals, partly confirmed by Mahratta MSS.

put out the eyes of his brother Yessajee, and confined him, for which Sumbhajee, as soon as the Portuguese retired, attacked him. Mannajee, however, having obtained aid from Bajee Rao, compelled Sumbhajee to raise the siege, and in consequence of the assistance afforded, ceded the forts of Kootla and Rajmachee to the Peishwa.*

The Seedee, who at this time was chief of Jinjeera, had held that situation for several years, with the old Moghul title of Yakoot Khan. The districts which had been placed under the Seedee's charge by Aurungzebe, including Mhar, Raigurh, Dabul, and Anjenweel, had been defended against every effort of the Mahrattas, and frequently, in consequence of their inroads, the Seedee levied contributions from Shao's districts. As force was not likely to prevail, the Pritee Needhee, Jewajee Khunde Rao Chitnees, and others of the Raja's ministers, formed schemes for ruining the Seedee by intrigue. A person named Yacoob Khan, well known in those times as one of the most daring pirates on the coast, and distinguished by his familiar appellation of Shaikjee, possessed the entire confidence of the Seedee. This man was a descendant of the Koolee Rajas of the Concan, and hereditary Patell of Goagurh. In one of the incursions of the Seedees, he was, when a child, taken prisoner, and bred a Mussulman. At a very early period he distinguished himself, and on getting command of a ship, became as celebrated for his stratagem as his bravery. The Pritee Needhee

* Mahratta MSS.

gained this Shaik Yacoob, and entered into a secret treaty with him, by which he was to receive the command of the fleet, the whole of the Seedee's possessions, with the exception of some forts, several villages in Enam, and the Surgounda *, or two per cent. of the whole revenue of the lower Concan, from the river Penn to the boundary of the Kolapoor territory. His brother was to be appointed second in command at Raigurh, and one lack of rupees was to be distributed as a largess amongst the troops, and crews of the vessels, in case of success in affecting a revolution.†

To aid this scheme, a force was sent into the Concan, in 1733, under the Pritee Needhee, his Mootaliq Yemmajee Sewdeo, and Oodajee Chowan; the intrigues, for reasons which are not explained, were unsuccessful, but a war ensued, the effects of which fell principally upon the helpless peasantry. Little impression could be made on the Seedee's garrisons; the Pritee Needhee, after many months, was finally worsted, and when encamped at Chipploon, the fort of Goelkot, although strongly garrisoned, was disgracefully surprised and taken. Chimnajee Appa incurred the Raja's displeasure for not sending assistance to Sreeput Rao after repeated orders ‡, and Shao at last told him, "if

* The same as Nargounda, only here confined to two, instead of three per cent.

† Original papers in possession of the Chitnees at Satara.

‡ Original letters from Shao to Chimnajee, and from the Peishwa's Mootaliq, procured from the Dawursee Swammee. Many interesting letters from Bajee Rao and Chimnajee, were lent to me by the descendants of the disciples of the Dawursee Swamee. The Swamee was a much venerated person in the

you do not I must go myself." * Peelajee Jadow was at length despatched, but none of the other officers at Satara would undertake to support the Pritee Needhee, except on condition of receiving the conquered districts in Jagheer; he was, therefore, compelled to return to Satara with great loss of reputation. About this time, the chief at Jinjeera died, leaving several sons, the eldest of whom, Seedee Abdoollah, was murdered by his brothers, supported by other conspirators, with the view of usurping the government in prejudice to Seedee Rehman, one of the brothers not in Jinjeera at the time of the murder, and who bore no part in the conspiracy.

A. D. 1735. Yacoob Khan immediately embraced the the cause of Seedee Rehman, and called on Shao for support, but nothing could be done until the return of Bajee Rao, who after leaving Holkar and Sindia with a large body of cavalry in Malwa, returned to the Deccan, and on crossing the Godavery, intimated to the Raja that he should march straight to Dhunda Rajepoor. All the disposable infantry were directed to join

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country, and was the Mahapooroosh of Bajee Rao and his brother, and seems to have possessed their entire confidence. The Peishwa's letters to the Swamee, and to his brother, detail the actions of his life, in a familiar manner, without disguise, and are quite invaluable. I was permitted to translate, but not to copy them. The originals continue in possession of the Swamees' disciples at Dawursee, a village within a few miles of Satara.

* This part of the letter is a postscript in his own handwriting.

the Peishwa, and Peelajee Jadow was sent off reinforced with a body of the Pagah horse, to support Mulhar Rao Holkar in Malwa.

Seedee Rehman and Yacoob Khan joined Bajee Rao, who commenced operations by attacking some of the forts. Futih Sing Bhonslay, and the Pritee Needhee proceeded to co-operate; but the only assistance which they rendered was the recovery of Sivajee's capital, Raigurh, the Killidar of which had been previously corrupted by Shaik Yacoob. The Peishwa reduced the forts of Tala and Gossala; but his further progress was interrupted by the advance of Seedee Rehan, one of the brothers, at the head of a body of troops from Jinjeera. They attacked the Peishwa vigorously, but could not prevail over the numerous forces of the Mahrattas. Seedee Rehan was killed, and his troops were pursued to Dhunda Rajepoor. Batteries were erected against Jinjeera, whilst Mannajee Angria assailed it from the sea.

The operation of cannonading Jinjeera, had been repeated from the time of Sumbhajee, every year the Mahrattas were in possession of Dhunda Rajepoor. Bajee Rao perceived the impracticability of reducing it, at least for many months; and as he foresaw many bad consequences from remaining in the Concan, he listened to overtures made by the besieged, entered into a treaty, by which they recognised the pretensions of Seedee Rehman, gave up half the revenues of eleven Mahals * to him,

* Smaller divisions of a district.

and ceded the forts of Raigurh, Tala, Gossala, Oochitgurh and Beerwaree to the Mahrattas.

Upon this successful termination of hostilities, Bajee Rao with additional power and influence, returned to Satara, and was appointed Soobehdar of the late acquisitions.*

After Bajee Rao's return to the Deccan, the troops of Mulhar Rao Holkar made incursions beyond Agra. Khan Dowran, the vizier of Mohummud Shah, attempted to check the progress of the Mahrattas, rather by the pen than the sword; forgetting that all negotiations with a predatory state, without previously punishing its aggressions, only tend to excite further depredation. He laid plans for obtaining the aid of Nizam Ool Moolk without appearing to solicit it; a conduct little less inconsistent than that of the fickle emperor, who now earnestly courted him; but the Nizam was nursing his resources, and the period had not yet arrived, when he could perceive that his presence at Delhi would be hailed as that of the saviour of the empire.

Khan Dowran's attempts were feeble, but his preparations were always splendid; all Delhi was in bustle when his expeditions set out; but they commenced in bombast and ended in ridicule. His brother, Muzuffir Khan, moved forth to drive the plunderers and robbers across the Nerbuddah.

* Mahratta MSS., and original letters. In parts where I have only Mahratta authority, I am seldom quite certain of my dates, as many of the original letters have only the date of the week, and of the moon.

Holkar sent a few of his light troops to molest his march during the day, and to throw rockets into his camp during the night; but he never allowed himself to be interrupted in the collection of contributions, in which he was employed, for the purpose of endeavouring to satisfy the importunate demands of his master the Peishwa, whose pecuniary distress had become very great. Muzuffir Khan advanced as far as Seronje, whence he returned, and was received at Delhi as if he had performed signal services, acquiring fame among his friends, by the contempt of his enemies. The province of Malwa, and the country south of the Chumbul, although some of the forts remained in possession of the imperial officers, were completely overrun, and the Rohillas, as well as the Mahrattas, took possession of several places.* Kantajee Kuddum Bhanday, who the year before, had been constrained by the power of Dummajee Gaekwar to quit Guzerat, persuaded Holkar to make an incursion into that province, where they appeared unexpectedly; levied contributions as far as the Bunass; plundered several towns to the north of Ahmedabad, amongst which were Eder and Pulhanpoor †, and departed as suddenly as they had come.

Abhee Sing was shortly after removed from the government of Guzerat, and Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah, Momin Khan, was appointed to officiate, but the deputy of Abhee Sing would not evacuate the city of Ahmedabad, and Momin Khan was at last

* Seyr Mutuakhereen, and Mahratta letters.

† Meerat Ahmudee.

obliged to court an alliance with Dummajee, in order to expel him.

A.D. 1736. Bajee Rao owing to the vast army he had kept up, both to secure his conquests, and to overcome his rivals, had become greatly involved in debts. His troops were in arrears, the Soucars, (or Bankers,) to whom he already owed a personal debt of many lacks of rupees, refused to make any further advances, and he complained bitterly of the constant mutinies and clamours in his camp, which occasioned him much vexation and distress.* He levied the Chouth and Surdeshmookhee in Malwa, and applied, through Raja Jey Sing, for their formal cession in that province; and likewise for a confirmation of the deeds, granted by Sur Boolund Khan, for Guzerat. The Tooranee Moghuls, who formed a considerable party in the ministry, were decidedly against a compromise so disgraceful; Khan Dowran and the emperor, by whom it had been already tacitly yielded, were disposed, by the advice of Jey Sing, to acknowledge the title in due form; but, in the

* Among Hindoos, an attitude of worship or adoration, is to place the forehead at the threshold of a temple, or at the feet of the idol, and is used in humble supplication to a superior. The following extract of a letter, from Bajee Rao, to his Mahapooroosh, must of course be understood figuratively; but it shows the embarrassments under which he laboured: — "I have fallen into that hell of being beset by creditors, and to pacify Soucars and Sillidars, I am falling at their feet, till I have rubbed the skin from my forehead." Part of this distress originated in the high rates of pay which he was obliged to give, in order to outbid Nizam Ool Moolk, aud secure the best of the Deccan soldiery.

course of the negotiation, which ensued between the imperial minister and the Peishwa, both parties went beyond their original intentions, and hastened the advancing reconciliation between Mohummud Shah and Nizam Ool Moolk.

The emperor, in the first instance, agreed to relinquish, in the form of an assignment, thirteen lacks of rupees, of the revenue of the districts south of the Chumbul, for the ensuing season, payable by three instalments, at stated periods; and to grant an authority to the Peishwa, to levy a tribute from the Rajpoot states, from Boondee and Kotah on the west, to Budawur on the east, fixing the annual amount at ten lacks, and sixty thousand rupees. The latter concession Khan Dowran probably expected, was more likely to create enmity, than to establish friendship, between the Mahrattas and the Rajpoots. This minister imagined himself superior to a Mahratta Bramin in political artifice, and continued to negociate, when he should have had no thought but to chastise. The Raja Jey Sing was the medium through whom Khan Dowran sent an envoy of his own, named Yadgar Khan, to treat with Bajee Rao. The Sunnuds for the Chouth, and Surdeshmookhee were secretly prepared, and given to the agent, with instructions to reserve them; but Dhondoo Punt Poorundhuree, the Peishwa's wukeel, residing with Khan Dowran, discovered this preliminary admission, and apprized Bajee Rao of the circumstance. Mahrattas, in every negotiation, invariably begin by requiring much more than they expect. If they find their proposal acceded to,

they rise in their pretensions, and very often, from a tone of the most obsequious complaisance, assume an overbearing insolence of manner, and a style of pointed threat and menace, which, to those who have only seen them submissive, is scarcely conceivable.

Bajee Rao's demands now exceeded all bounds; at different stages, during the discussions, he required the whole provinces of Malwa in Jagheer; the Rohillas who had established themselves, to be dispossessed; the forts of Mandoo, Dhar, and Raiseen; the Jagheer and Foujdaree of the whole tract south of the Chumbul; fifty lacks of rupees from the royal treasury, or an equivalent assignment on Bengal; Allahabad, Benares, Gya, and Muttra in Jagheer, and an hereditary right as Sur-Deshpandya of the six Sobehs of the Deccan.*

All these concessions were evaded by the emperor, excepting the last; to that he acceded, on Bajee Rao's agreeing to pay a fee of six lacks of rupees. This grant was precisely similar to that of the Surdeshmookhee, but coinciding with the proportion of the emoluments of Deshmookh and Deshpandya: those of the Surdeshmookhee being ten, the Surdeshpandeegheeree was five per cent. This grant, however, fell upon the Deccan; it was a stroke levelled at Nizam Ool Moolk, by Khan Dowran, and had the immediate effect of rousing the Nizam's jealousy, whilst encouragement from the Moghul faction, and pressing invitations from Mohummud Shah, to repair to Delhi and save the

* Original papers, and Poona records.

empire, at length induced Nizam Ool Moolk, to think of turning the scale against his predatory allies. In the mean time negotiations produced no cessation of activity on the part of Bajee Rao, and his demands were so exorbitant, that it was determined, after protracted consultations, to assemble a vast army, by the mere display of which, it seemed, as if they expected to annihilate the Mahrattas. The plains in the neighbourhood of the capital, were accordingly covered with tents, and the preparations were as splendid as the operations proved feeble. The Peishwa, on hearing that Khan Dowran, and Kummur-ud-deen Khan, each at the head of a great army, had advanced towards Muttra, deposited his heavy baggage with his ally Juggut Raj in Bundlecund, and advanced to a position on the banks of the Jumna, forty miles south of Agra. He had attacked the Raja of Budawur, for refusing to settle his claims, and levied contributions in every direction. Mulhar Rao Holkar, Peelajee Jadow, and Wittoojee Bolay committed great depredations in the Dooab, until driven across the Jumna by Sadut Khan, who marched from Oude, and unexpectedly assailed the Mahrattas. He wrote an exaggerated account of his success to court, stating that he had wounded Mulhar Rao Holkar, killed Wittoojee Bolay, and driven the whole Mahratta army across the Chumbul; that two thousand were killed, and two thousand were drowned in the Jumna. On Sadut Khan's arrival at Agra, Bajee Rao quitted his ground on the banks of the Jumda, and moved to a more open country in a north-east direction, his

former position being confined by the Chumbul on his left flank, and his camp intersected by deep ravines; very unfavourable to his mode of fighting.*

Sadut Khan's account of his success, as written by himself to the emperor, was communicated to Bajee Rao by his wukeel, who remained with Khan Dowran, until the latter, accompanied by Mohummud Khan Bungush, joined Sadut Khan at Agra, when, by the advice of the latter, the wukeel was dismissed. Nothing was talked of in Delhi but the hero Sadut Khan, who had driven the Mahrattas back to the Deccan. "I was resolved," says Bajee Rao, "to tell the emperor truth, to prove that I was still in Hindoostan, and to show him flames and Mahrattas at the gates of his capital."

Six days before Khan Dowan joined Sadut Khan, Bajee Rao, foreseeing that they would unite, was on his march to Delhi. Quitting the great road and skirting the hills of Mehwat, where they formed the boundary of the territory of Chooramun Jath, and keeping fourteen miles to the left of Oorlass, † where Kummur-ud-deen Khan was encamped, he advanced at the rate of forty miles daily, and pitched his camp close to the suburbs. Some elephants and camels, coming out

* The Seyr Mutuakhereen gives the Moghul account of this campaign, the only one to which the author of that work had access. I have not omitted due consideration of both sides of the narrative.

† This is probably the Hindoo name for the place, as I cannot find it in any of our maps.

of the city were seized, and a party of Hindoos when going to a temple for the performance of a religious ceremony were stripped*, but the Peishwa prudently abandoned his first intention of plundering and burning; as he conceived the booty might retard his retreat, and that burning the suburbs would but show a disrespect and contempt which would impede his negotiations with the emperor and Khan Dowran, both of whom he well knew were disposed to grant a large share of his demands. He therefore next day wrote two letters, one to the emperor, and the other to Raja Bukht Mull. Their purport is not mentioned, but the emperor requested that a wukeel might be sent, which Bajee Rao refused, unless a guard came out for his protection. He, however, returned a polite message, stating "that as he apprehended mischief to the city, from the contiguity of his troops, he was about to retire to the Jheel Tank." This moderation encouraged a party of eight thousand men, from the city, under Muzuffir Khan, Meer Hoossein Khan Kokah, Raja Sew Sing, and other nobles of the court, to venture forth and attack the Mahrattas. Bajee Rao despatched Suttojee Jadow with a few skirmishers to reconnoitre them; and upon Suttojee's sending notice, that they were coming out to attack him, Mulharjee Holkar, followed by Ranoojee Sindia, immediately wheeled about, fell upon them, killed and wounded upwards of six hundred, drove them back into the city, and took two thousand of their horses, and

* This fact Rajee Rao mentions to his brother, without reserve or comment.

one elephant. Raja Sew Sing was amongst the slain, and Meer Hoossein Khan Kokah was mortally wounded.

The Mahrattas lost very few men, and had only one officer* wounded. This action was soon over, and Bajee Rao was about to refresh his men when the army of Kummur-ud-deen Khan came in sight. Bajee Rao had a skirmish with him, but as night was approaching, and as he perceived that the enemy was supported by troops from the city as well as by Khan Dowran and Sadut Khan, who were close at hand, he determined to retreat, and before morning moved eight miles to the westward of the late field of battle. In the skirmish with Kummur-ud-deen Khan, the Peishwa lost thirty men. Khan Dowran and Sadut Khan effected a junction with Kummur-ud-deen Khan on the following morning; and Bajee Rao retreated towards Gwalior, by the route of Rewaree and Mundawar, both of which he plundered, and was neither interrupted nor pursued. It was Bajee Rao's intention to cross the Jumna, and plunder the Dooab before the rains; but being apprehensive that Nizam Ool Moolk might interrupt him before he could collect the revenue in Malwa, he ordered his brother to watch the Nizam's preparations†:

* Indrajee Kuddum, belonging to Ranoojee Sindia's party. I mention his name, merely to show the minuteness of the Peishwa's report.

† A private letter, or rather journal, in the hand-writing of Bajee Rao, to his brother Chimnajee Appa. Without various corroborative testimonies, as to the facts, it bears that internal evidence of truth, which commands confidence.

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and, "if he attempt," says the Peishwa's letter, "to cross the Rewa (Nerbuddah), fall instantly on his rear and put heel ropes upon him."*

No opportunity presented itself of crossing the Jumna, and as his presence became requisite in the Deccan, Bajee Rao, upon a promise of obtaining the government of Malwa, and thirteen lacks of rupees, again sent his wukeel to Khan Dowran, and set out on his return to Satara, where he paid his respects to the Raja, and immediately proceeded into the Concan.

A.D. 1737. The Portuguese, who had assisted in taking Kolabah, not having received some districts promised to them, in the neighbourhood of Rewadunda, now appeared, as the allies of Sumbhajee Angria, against Mannajee, in another attack upon Kolabah. The Peishwa was sent to repel this attempt, in which he succeeded, took Mannajee under his protection, on condition of his paying the yearly sum of seven thousand rupees, and presenting annually to the Raja, foreign articles from Europe or China†, to the value of three thousand rupees more. The war with the Portuguese led to the invasion of Salsette. Visajee Punt Leiley, a Carcoon in the service of the Peishwa, corrupted some natives in the Portuguese service.‡ The Mahrattas first possessed themselves

* Such of my readers as may have seen a horse break from his pickets, and attempt to gallop off with his heel ropes, will understand the Peishwa's injunctions in their full force.

† Mahratta MSS. One manuscript states, that some of his forts were also to be placed under Havildars and Carcoons, to be appointed by the Raja.

‡ Mahratta MSS.

of a small fort * on the opposite side of the river from Bassein, on the night of the 6th April, put the commandant with his garrison to the sword, and occupied the river, so as to prevent all succour from Bassein to the other forts on the island; numbers of their troops crossed on the seventh, and the fortifications of Tannah being then unfinished, and a whole curtain wanting, the Portuguese governor of Salsette, Don Lewis Botelho, who was there, without attempting to defend it himself, called a council of war, and decided on retiring to Caranja, leaving Captain John de Souza Pereira to defend the fort, and Captain John de Souza Ferraz to command the garrison of Bandora, opposite to Mahim. Pereira behaved with spirit, and gallantly repulsed two assaults, in the last of which he was severely wounded; but the officer who succeeded him, having been seized with a panic, when there was no enemy in sight, shamefully took to flight. The English, at Bombay, interested in the defence of Bandora, sent both men and ammunition to that post; but, on other occasions, declared their neutrality.† The Peishwa, to secure these conquests, and to maintain the war against the Portuguese, entertained some Arabs, and a very large body of infantry, principally Mawulees and Hetkurees. But news from Delhi obliged him to withdraw a part of his forces from the Concan.

The emperor, having at last prevailed on Nizam

* Probably Gorabundur.

† Letter from Don Conde de Sandomel, viceroy of Goa, to the king of Portugal, 25th of January, 1738.

Ool Moolk to repair to court, the government of Malwa and Guzerat were restored to him, but in the name of his eldest son, Ghazee-ud-deen; the conditions were, that he should drive the Mahrattas from those provinces, and every inducement that could flatter his ambition, or stimulate his avarice, was held out to prevail upon him to undertake this service in person.

The fullest powers were granted by the emperor for assembling all the tributary Rajas under his standard, whose forces, added to his own troops, enabled him to take the field with thirty-four thousand men, under his personal command, and a train of artillery, accounted the best in India. Abool Munsoor Khan Sufdur Jung*, nephew of Sadut Khan, and the Raja of Kotah, covered his rear. The Nizam began operations with abundant caution, crossed over into the Dooab, and kept the Jumna on his right flank, recrossed the river at Kalpee, obliged the Rajas of Bundelcund to join him, and advanced into Malwa.

Bajee Rao assembled all the troops he could collect, and by the time he reached the Nerbuddah, found himself at the head of an army, estimated at eighty thousand men.† Neither Yeswunt Rao Dhabaray, nor any of the Senaputtee's officers, joined him; and Rughoojee Bhonslay evaded the

* Aftewards Nabob of Oude, and the father of the well-known Shujah-ud-Dowlah.

† Letter from Chimnajee Appa, who says he crossed the Nerbuddah, "by the route of Kurgouna, near Poonashah, at the head of eighty thousand men."

order, under pretence that he apprehended an invasion of Berar.

A. D. 1738. When Bajee Rao crossed the Nerbuddah, Nizam Ool Moolk was at Seronje. The two armies met near Bhopaul, in the month of January; when the Nizam, instead of advancing at once on his adversary, took up a strong position in the neighbourhood of the fort of Bhopaul, with a tank in his rear, and a rivulet in his front. * This extreme caution may be said to have decided the fate of the war; the Mahrattas, who had approached under some alarm, no sooner fancied themselves superior, than they in fact became so. They insulted the Nizam in his lines; and when a part of his army chose their own position for battle, the Mahrattas attacked them with vigour. The action was principally maintained on the part of Nizam Ool Moolk, by the Rajpoots, under the son of Raja Jey Sing, supported by the troops from Bundelcund, and the neighbouring Rajas; all of whom, except the Raja of Boondee, had united with Nizam Ool Moolk. The Rajpoots lost about five hundred men, and seven hundred horses; the Mahratta loss was principally from the fire of the artillery, and estimated, by the Peishwa himself, at one hundred killed, and three hundred wounded. Ranoojee Sindia, Peelajee Jadow, and Syajee Goozur, were the officers who led the Mahratta troops into action. The Peishwa, during the engagement, was within two rockets flight of the

* Original letter, in the hand-writing of Bajee Rao.

Nizam, anxiously watching an opportunity, in hopes that he would quit the strong ground on which he stood, when it was Bajee Rao's intention to have made an effort to cut him off; but in this he was disappointed. No decisive advantage was gained by the Mahrattas during the attack; but the Nizam recalled his troops, and allowed himself to be hemmed in on all sides; provisions and forage soon became exceedingly scarce; a detachment from the army under Sufdur Jung, and the Raja of Kotah, was intercepted and defeated, with the loss of fifteen hundred men, by Mulhar Rao Holkar, and Yeswunt Rao Powar. Sufdur Jung retreated, and the Mahrattas exulting, straitened the army at Bhopaul, cut off their supplies, and kept them on the alert day and night. Dispirited by privation, and harassed by tiresome watching, many of the troops, especially the Rajpoots, would have deserted, but Bajee Rao would admit of no overtures; he now had an opportunity of showing his superiority to all India, and well knew, that as long as the blockade could be secured, the greater the numbers the greater their straits. It seemed unaccountable to Bajee Rao how Nizam Ool Moolk should have thus put himself into his power. "The nabob," says the Peishwa in a letter to his brother, "is both an old man and a man of experience, how he has got himself into this difficulty I cannot comprehend; it will ruin him in the opinion of all at Delhi."

Preparations were made both in Hindoostan and in the Deccan to effect his relief. Khan Dowran, perhaps, saw the distress of his rival with secret

pleasure; and the emperor's command, not to advance until he should march in person, was an intimation to Bajee Rao that he had nothing to apprehend from the northward. The Nizam's principal hopes of succour were from the Deccan; troops were assembled both at Hyderabad and Aurungabad, by his second son, Nasir Jung, whom he had left as his deputy; and messengers were secretly despatched from the camp at Bhopaul to hasten their march.

Bajee Rao, on the other hand, exerted himself with the utmost earnestness to prevent their approach; he wrote, beseeched, and threatened Rughoojee Bhonslay, without effect; he entreated the Raja to compel the Senaputtee, then at Sonegurh, near Surat, to join him; and Shao, to that end, wrote a peremptory mandate with his own hand. Chimnajee Appa took post on the Taptee, and the intended relief for the Nizam assembled at Phoolmurry*, north of Aurungabad. The Peishwa urged his brother in the strongest manner to collect every man he could: "bring up Futih Sing Bhonslay, Sumbhoo Sing Jadow, and the Sur Lushkur, from the southward; if Dhabaray, Gaekwar, and Bhanday, are not on their march to join me, let them take post with you on the Taptee; let every Mahratta join, and one grand and united effort may make us masters of the Deccan."

The Nizam made an attempt to move, but owing to the encumbrance of heavy baggage and stores, he was compelled to return; his troops, in retiring

* This is the common Mahratta appellation; Phooloomree is its proper name.

to their former ground, were driven under the walls, or crowded within the fortifications of Bhopaul. Bajee Rao, from the want of artillery, could not effect a breach, but he poured in such a shower of rockets, and so galled the Moghuls with matchlocks, that Nizam Ool Moolk determined on making a last effort to extricate himself. He deposited his baggage in Bhopaul and Islamgurh, and began his retreat under cover of a powerful artillery, and a number of swivels mounted on camels. The Mahrattas charged the guns, but failed in taking them. The retreat, however, was only at the rate of three miles a day. The Mahrattas acted vigorously, but began to be discouraged by the execution from the guns*; at last, the Nizam, on the twenty-fourth day from the commencement of the attack, about the 11th February, was (Feb. 11.) compelled to sign a convention at Dooraee Suraee, near Seronje, promising, in his own hand-writing, to grant to Bajee Rao the whole of Malwa, and the complete sovereignty of the territory between the Nerbuddah and the Chumbul; to obtain a confirmation of it from the emperor, and to use every endeavour to procure the payment of a subsidy of fifty lacks of rupees, to defray the Peishwa's expenses.† "I tried hard," says

* Chimnajee had been with the Peishwa in the first campaign against Nizam Ool Moolk, and had suffered from the Nizam's guns. Bajee Rao, as some apology for allowing him to move at all, significantly observes, "Appa, you know what kind of an artillery he has."

† The Nizam was surrounded from the 3d to the 26th Ramzam. On the latter day, the agreement was concluded. A copy of this paper was sent to Sir John Malcolm, when he was

Bajee Rao, "to get something from the nabob himself, but this I scarcely expected, I recollected his unwillingness to part with money when I entered on an agreement to assist him;" alluding to their compact six years before.

The Peishwa remained for a time levying contributions south of the Chumbul; and carrying on negotiations at court, where the threatening invasion of Nadir Shah, at that time besieging Candahar, although mentioned by Mahomedan writers as an apology for the Nizam's failure against the Mahrattas, had as yet, excited little alarm at court, and the inhabitants of Delhi, like all enervated and selfish people, were as careless of danger at a distance, as terrified and helpless on its approach.

In the mean time the war in the Concan was maintained against the Portuguese; to keep them in check, a body of horse had been sent down towards Goa, under Wenkut Rao Narrain Ghorepuray; and Khundoojee Mankur, in the northern Concan, laid siege to the fort of Asseeree, near Tarrapoor; but, Don Antonio Cardim Frois, an officer of reputation, had superseded the late governor of Bassein and Salsette, and exerted himself with some success in the recovery of their possessions. Colonel Pedro de Mello, with about five hundred Europeans, and four thousand Portuguese, natives of India, attacked Khundoojee

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writing his report on Malwa, and I mention the date particularly, because I observe, that owing to a mistake in attaching the name of Ballajee, instead of that of his father, to the paper, he has been led into an error in regard to it.

Mankur, stormed and destroyed the batteries at Asseeree, and was preparing to make a great effort for the recovery of Tannah. The governor of Bombay apprized the Mahrattas of the intended expedition, and advised them to make peace with the Portuguese; at the same time the English sold them both powder and shot*; but Khundoojee Mankur was re-inforced, and Mulhar Rao Holkar was sent with all speed to Tannah, where he arrived in time to repulse an attack on the fort, led by Don Antonio Frois in person, who bravely fell in the attempt.

Although Bombay was then insignificant, it afterwards became a great English settlement, and the subtle part which its chief† acted on that occasion, leaves room to regret that political animosity and the spirit of commercial rivalry should have tended to a conduct, which certainly, in some degree, detracts from our national reputation. Like every thing of the kind it was exaggerated by the exasperated feelings of the other party, and although

* Mahratta MSS. The commandant of Bassein had good proof of this, for the Mahratta shot, which the year before, were all hammered, were now thrown of cast iron, and bore the English stamp.

† I do not know whether it was Mr. John Horne, or Mr. Stephen Law. Mr. Law succeeded Mr. Horne some time during the first part of the year 1739. Mr Law, in a letter to the Court of Directors, 4th September, 1739, is anxious to exculpate the government, and declares the complaints of the Portuguese gross misrepresentations, which so far exonerates the home authorities from suspicion of conniving at such acts of their servants; but what reason could the Mahrattas have for misrepresentation?

it must be admitted that the Portuguese had great reason to complain, their assertion that the English assisted the Mahrattas, in the defence of Tannah, and that an English gunner pointed the cannon which killed their commander *, appears from all contemporary authority, to be totally unfounded. We are also bound in justice to add, in regard to such part of the conduct of the English as deserves censure, that it was principally to be ascribed to the treatment they had experienced from the Portuguese. Bombay, with its dependancies, was ceded by the crown of Portugal to Charles II., in 1661, as the dowery of his queen. In the year following, when the English appeared and demanded possession, the Portuguese refused to give up Salsette, which they, contrary to what had always been understood, declared was not a dependancy of Bombay. The English at first declined receiving any part of the cession, and the troops they had brought, five hundred in number, were landed on the island of Aujeedeva. But three hundred and eighty-one of them having fallen a sacrifice to the climate of that unhealthy spot, Ensign Humphray Cooke, who became the surviving commander, was glad to accept of Bombay on any terms. When the Portuguese, therefore, were dispossessed of Salsette, by the Mahrattas, it was natural for the English, in a public point of view †, to regard

A. D. 1739.

Feb. 1665.

* Records of the Portuguese government at Goa.

† Individuals of the Portuguese nation who fled to Bombay, experienced the utmost kindness and commiseration from the

their misfortunes without regret, especially as it afforded a better chance, of one day obtaining or conquering from the Mahrattas, what they could not recover as their just rights from the Portuguese.

After the rains, the body of horse under Wenkut Rao Narrain Ghorepuray, the Peishwa's brother-in-law, returned to the neighbourhood of Goa, whilst Chimnajee Appa was sent down with Sindia and Holkar into the Concan, attended by a very large army, a number of guns, and a vast body of infantry. Ranoojee Sindia, detached from the main army, took Kuttulwaree and Dannoo early in January, and before the month of February, Seergaom was surrendered, and Kelwa and Tarrapoor were carried by storm. At the last mentioned place, the defence and assault were desperate: there were four mines constructed by the Mahrattas, two of which succeeded, and effected large breaches in a bastion and curtain; the different leaders vied with each other in the attack, Bajee Bew Rao, Ramchundur Hurry, Yeswunt Rao Powar, and Tookajee Powar (the last an officer of Angria's), rushed forward with their respective colours; but the Portuguese gallantly opposed them, and for a time success was doubtful. At length Ranoojee Bhonslay having crossed the ditch at a place where there was no breach, applied scaling ladders to the wall, and entered sword in hand; "but the garrison," says Chimnajee Appa in his account of the attack,

inhabitants. The governor gave them money for subsistence, and refitted some of their ships at the public expense.

"still fought with the bravery of Europeans," and defended themselves till completely overpowered. The few that remained alive, amongst whom was their commander, Don Francis de Alarcao demanded and received quarter.*

Whilst the war was thus vigorously prosecuted against the Portuguese, and Ranoojee Bhonslay of Oomrautee, the uncle of Rughoojee, the Sena Sahib Soobeh, had, as related, distinguished himself at Tarrapoor, his nephew had seized the opportunity of extending his possessions to the eastward; he had plundered Kuttack, and during the period when the Nizam was surrounded at Bhopaul, Rughoojee made an incursion to the northward, as far as Allahabad, defeated and slew the Soobehdar, Shujah Khan, and returned loaded with booty. These expeditions, undertaken without regular sanction, were highly resented by Bajee Rao. He marched from Poona for the purpose of punishing his misconduct, and sent forward Awjee Kowray to plunder in Berar. But that unfortunate officer † was attacked and defeated by Rughoojee in the end of February. Bajee Rao was preparing to avenge his loss, when news reached him of the arrival of Nadir Shah, the defeat of the Moghuls, the death of Khan Dowran, the capture of Sadut Khan; and finally, that the victorious Persian was dictating the terms of ransom at the gates of Delhi.

* Letter from Chimnajee Appa to the Dawursee Swamee. Official report from Don Martin Silveira De Menezes, from Bassein, 18th February 1739.

† He was defeated by Dummajee Gaekwar, before the battle of Dubhoy, in 1731.

These accounts exceedingly alarmed Bajee Rao, but the subsequent intelligence which he received at Nusseerabad, informed him of the imprisonment of the emperor, the plunder of Delhi, the dreadful massacre of many of its inhabitants *, and seemed for a time to overwhelm him. "Our domestic quarrel with Rughoojee Bhonslay is now insignificant," says the Peishwa, "the war with the Portuguese is as nought; there is now but one enemy in Hindoostan." He appears to have conceived that Nadir Shah would establish himself as emperor, but he was not dismayed when he heard reports that a hundred thousand Persians were advancing to the southward. "Hindoos and Mussulmans," says Bajee Rao, "the whole power of the Deccan must assemble, and I shall spread our Mahrattas from the Nerbuddah to the Chumbul." He called on Nasir Jung to arm against the common foe, and Chimnajee Appa was ordered to desist from the Concan warfare, and join him with all speed. Before Chimnajee received this command, a detachment from his army, under Khundoojee Mankur had reduced the forts of Versovah and Darawee; he was in possession of the whole of Salsette †, and had begun the siege of Bassein. It was invested by an advanced force under Shunkrajee Narrain, on the 17th of February. The commandant represented with humility, that he was willing to pay the Mahratta tribute, and that the Portuguese asked no more than the terms granted to the Seedee of Jinjeera. But he was mistaken in sup-

* Eight thousand by the lowest computation.

† Called Sashtee by the Mahrattas.

posing that such a tone would avert the attack of a victorious Bramin. Chimnajee was unwilling to relinquish the capture of an important fortress which would secure his conquests, and without which, the Portuguese had a key which opened a passage to the recovery, not only of what they had lost, but to the whole Concan from the Ghauts to the sea, and from Damaun to Bombay; therefore, although the mandate from his brother was urgent, he determined to secure Bassein. Aware of the risk to which he exposed himself by the chance of discomfiture, during the whole of March and April, he pressed the siege by every possible exertion. Numbers were daily killed in his batteries and trenches, where shells and huge stones, thrown from mortars, did terrible execution. The numerous guns of the besieged were at last silenced, and a breach had been effected in one of the curtains, but it was not yet practicable. The mines of the besiegers were repeatedly counteracted; at length, five were prepared, but so unskilfully, that the first only partially exploded, and of three mines close together, intended to be fired at once, two only went off. These, however, made a very large breach, which the Mahratta troops resolutely and promptly mounted, when the remaining mine having caught fire, blew hundreds of the assailants in the air. The Portuguese flung a quantity of hand grenades amongst the crowds in the rear, whilst they plied those who had ascended with musquetry, and drove them back with much slaughter. The defences were repaired with alacrity, the besiegers returned to the attack; but before attempting an assault at the former

breach, the remaining mine under the tower of St. Sebastian, which had been constructed under the superintendence of Mulhar Rao Holkar, was fired: half the bastion was brought to the ground, and the assailants, after losing two of their colours, at last effected a lodgement. The besieged, however, although forty of their number were killed, and upwards of one hundred and thirty wounded at the breach of St. Sebastian, disputed every inch of ground, threw up a retrenchment of gabions, and mounted fresh guns, from which they kept up an incessant fire. At last, worn out by fatigue, and distressed for want of provisions, the sea face being blockaded by Mannajee Angria, they sent offers of capitulation, which were accepted on the 16th of May, and eight days were allowed to embark their private property and families. The Portuguese lost, in killed and wounded, according to the Mahratta account, eight hundred men, whilst Chimnajee Appa acknowledges his own loss at upwards of five thousand, from the commencement to the end of this remarkable siege: the most vigorous ever prosecuted by Mahrattas. The Portuguese only enumerate their loss at the last breach. The capitulation was made by Captain de Souza Pereira, the same officer who before defended Tannah; Silveira de Minezes, the commanding officer, having been killed during one of the assaults.*

* Original Mahratta, and copies of the original Portuguese reports, which coincide in almost every particular. The Mahrattas, during the whole campaign, lost twelve or fourteen thousand men in killed and wounded.

Holkar and Sindia, as soon as Bassein fell, were sent to join Bajee Rao with all speed, but by that time news had arrived of the retreat of the Persians. * Nadir Shah restored the throne to its degraded owner, and wrote letters to all the princes in India, announcing the event; amongst others, he addressed a letter to Shao, and one to Bajee Rao. He informs the latter that he has reinstated Mohummud Shah, and now considered him as a brother; that although Bajee Rao was an ancient servant possessing a large army, he had not afforded the emperor assistance, but that all must now attend to Mohummud Shah's commands, for if they did not, he would return with his army and inflict punishment upon the disobedient. †

For the valuable information which I obtained, in May 1822, from the records of the Portuguese government, I here beg to offer my acknowledgments to his Excellency the Viceroy of Goa, who most liberally, supplied me with copies of the whole correspondence relative to the conquest of Salsette.

* By the Bombay records, at the East India House, it appears that Nadir Shah quitted Delhi, 5th May 1739.

† Original letter from Nadir Shah to Bajee Rao.

CHAP. XVI.

FROM A. D. 1739, TO A. D. 1740.

The government of Malwa not formally conceded to Bajee Rao as promised by Nizam Ool Moolk. — The Peishwa's arangements in Malwa and Bundelcund, previous to attempting the conquest of the Deccan. — Motives which deterred and prompted the Peishwa. — Rughoojee Bhonslay is induced to undertake an expedition into the Carnatic. — The Peishwa attacks Nasir Jung — plans frustrated at the outset — departs for Hindoostan. — Chimnajee Appa recalled into the Concan to support Ballajee Bajee Rao. — Operations against Sumbhajee Angria — interrupted by intelligence of the death of Bajee Rao. — Brief retrospect of the rise and progress of the Mahrattas. — State of the Moghul empire and of the powers in India. — Imperial court. — Nabob of Oude. — Rajpoots. — Origin of the Jhats — of Aliverdy Khan — of the Rohillas. — State of the Deccan and Carnatic. — Nabobs of Arcot — Kurnoul — Kurpa — and Savanoor. — Tanjore — English — French and Portuguese. — Raja of Soonda. — Dessaye of Carwar — Mysore. — Artificial revenue system of the Mahrattas — Remarks on. — Character of Bajee Rao — His sons Ballajee Bajee Rao — Rugonath Rao — Jenardin Bawa, and Shumsher Buhadur.

A. D. 1739. SHORTLY after the departure of Nadir Shah, Bajee Rao sent a letter to the emperor expressive of his submission and obedience, and a nuzur of one hundred and one gold mohurs, which was acknowledged in suitable terms, and a splendid khillut* sent in return. He is assured

* A sirpa, is an honorary dress, consisting of cloths for the turban, trowsers, girdle, and gown, complete; hence its name sir-pa, or head to foot. A khillut comprehends not only the

by the emperor, that the rank, Jagheers, districts, and inheritance, already conferred on him, shall be confirmed, and that he may depend on finding his interests best promoted by continuing steadfast in his duty to the imperial government. *

Although no new Soobehdar, nor any deputy of Nizam Ool Moolk, was appointed to Malwa, yet no Sunnud was sent conferring the government on Bajee Rao. This omission the Peishwa considered a breach of faith on the part of Nizam Ool Moolk; but the Nizam's army being still in Hindoostan, and some of Bajee Rao's best officers and troops advancing from the Concan, he deferred enforcing his claims until a fitter opportunity. In the meantime he was busied in arranging the affairs of the province of Malwa, and strengthening his connection with the Rajpoot princes in the western quarter, along the banks of the Chumbul from Kotah to Allahabad, but especially with Juggut Deo and his brother Hurdesa, Rajas of Bundelcund. With these two princes he entered into a very particular and secret alliance, for the purpose of mutual protection and support against the Mahomedans. The contracting parties became bound by the most solemn oaths. The Rajas of Bundelcund agreed to accompany Bajee Rao in all his incursions across the Jumna and Chumbul,

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dress, but all the additions of jewels, horse, elephant and arms, according to circumstances and the rank of the parties. On the occasion alluded to, Bajee Rao received two ornaments of jewels for the turban, and a pearl necklace, together with a horse and an elephant.

* Original letter from Mohummud Shah.

and with the exception of the territory of Budawur *, to share in all prize and conquest in a proportion corresponding to the numerical strength of their respective forces; they promised, "in case of Bajee Rao's being engaged in a war in the Deccan, to defend Bundelcund for at least two months, and if at the end of that time, the Mahrattas should not be advancing to their assistance, they will make the best terms they can as a means of temporary safety; but break them the moment they are joined by their Hindoo allies." Bajee Rao's share of the territories of the former Raja Chittoor Sal, exclusive of Jhansee, was now fixed at five lacks of rupees. †

These arrangements, to secure the northern frontier, were preparatory to a war with Nizam Ool Moolk, or an expedition into the Carnatic. The late success against Nizam Ool Moolk, his departure from the terms of agreement, his great age, the probability of contentions among his sons, encouraged or stimulated the Peishwa to attempt the subjugation of the Deccan; but the deficiency of his resources for so great a design, was the chief obstacle which deterred him from this undertaking. On the other hand, the prospect of contributions and plunder, by which he might liquidate his debts, and perhaps some secret encouragement from Arcot ‡, were strong allurements for ventur-

* I do not know whether this exception was meant in favour of the Rajas of Bundelcund, or the Peishwa.

† Poona records.

‡ Colonel Wilks states, that the Mahrattas were invited by Meer Assud, the Dewan of Sufdur Ali. Some confirmation of

ing into the Carnatic. But Bajee Rao was critically situated, and circumstances impelled him to choose the Deccan as the theatre of his operations. The party of Dhabaray, or rather of Dummajee Gaekwar, the agent of Ooma Bye (as her son Yeswunt Rao, even when he grew up, was incompetent to his situation), possessed very considerable resources, and, from causes already detailed, was always inimical to the Peishwa.

Rughoojee Bhonslay was jealous of the Bramin ascendancy, he meditated a revolution by getting the Raja into his own power; and as Shao had no prospect of an heir, Rughoojee may have contemplated the possession of the Mahratta supremacy by being adopted as his son. Futih Sing Bhonslay, the only Mahratta likely to supersede him in the Raja's choice, possessed neither ability nor enterprise, and had failed to create power by acquiring popularity among the soldiery. Rughoojee had many difficulties to overcome in prosecuting a scheme of the kind. Although a party existed inimical to the Peishwa, Bajee Rao's friends and dependants surrounded the Raja, and possessed his ear, if not his entire confidence; nor could Rughoojee Bhonslay nor Dummajee Gaekwar concert a plan or transact the slightest business without Bramin agency; should Bajee Rao, however, quit the position which he occupied between the territories of those two, there would be no obstacle to their uniting against him.

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this appears in Tippoo's circular letter, translated by Mr. Edmonstone; but I have met with no trace of it in any Mahratta record.

The subsisting difference between Rughoojee and Bajee Rao, arose from Rughoojee's having plundered the province of Allahabad, and not having joined when he was ordered, according to the terms on which he held his lands and title. The Peishwa affirmed that he had no authority for levying contributions north of the Nerbuddah, and declared his determination, at the time of his marching from Poona, in the end of 1738, to enforce restitution; not to the owners, but to the Mahratta state, and to punish the aggression. A temporary compromise took place on the arrival of the Persians at Delhi; but the dispute was unsettled, and nothing but a sense of injury to their mutual interests prevented an open war. *

This state of affairs laid the foundation of schemes which had a great effect in extending the spreading but unstable power of the Mahrattas. Unfortunately there are few direct proofs to illustrate this part of their history. It is, however, certain that Bajee Rao and Rughoojee had a meeting, and that they were reconciled.

From all that has been stated, as well as from subsequent events, there is reason to suppose, that Bajee Rao unfolded as much of his schemes to Rughoojee as were necessary to engage his co-operation; and the plunder of the Carnatic, an eventual addition to his own territories in the Deccan, and a future partition of Bengal and Hindoostan, may have been urged by the Peishwa to excite his ambition and cupidity. In this conference may also

* Mahratta MSS., and original letters.

be seen, the real spring from which a host of Mahrattas were poured into the Carnatic. *

* The only authentic record I have recovered of the arrangement which preceded this expedition, and that bears no date, is a copy of the original authority by the Raja, which is not more loose and vague, than many Mahratta documents equally important. By this paper, I conjecture, that the Peishwa furnished the infantry, and, from subsequent events, it is probable that he by this means weakened his own army. The cavalry under Rughoojee was furnished by different leaders. I do not know who Koossajee Yessajee Bhonslay, the person mentioned in the paper, was, but he is supposed to have been the commander of the infantry.

Literal translation of an authority issued by Shao Maharaj, to the Sena Sahib Soobeh.

To Rajman Rajasree Rughoojee Bhonslay Sena Sahib Soobeh,—

The following orders are issued to you, regarding the arrangements to be made in the province of the Carnatic, south of the Toongbuddra.

Districts, the collections from which, wholly belong to the Raja Shao.

1. Trichinopoly.
2. Tanjore.
3. Arcot, including Ginjee.
4. Seringapatam, after deducting what is fixed by the treaty with government.

Other Districts.

1. Sera.
2. Adonee.
3. Kurnoul.
4. Kurpa.
5. Phoot Mahal (or portions of various districts).

According to the amount which may be received from the above mentioned places, the Surdeshmookhee, Babtee, Sahotra, &c. having been deducted, the remainder being Mokassa, one

In prosecution of his plans of conquest in the Deccan, Bajee Rao, seizing the opportunity afforded by the absence of Nizam Ool Moolk at Delhi, commenced his operations about the end of the year, by surrounding Nasir Jing, the second son of the Nizam, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of Aurungabad with ten thousand men, but a very large body of horse and foot, with a numerous artillery advanced to his relief, and having effected a junction, Nasir Jung, thus reinforced, at-

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half of it to be the share of Koossajee Yessajee Bhonslay, and the other is to belong to the Raja (Shao).

In this manner the whole of the four first mentioned places, and the Surdeshmookhee, and Babtee, and one half of the Mokassa of the remaining places, being formed into one sum, one half of it is to be taken by you for the expenses of your troops, and the other half, being the amount belonging to government, is to be paid into the state treasury, by means of ——————[1]. You and he, with mutual consultation, having made proper arrangements, are to gain possession of hill forts, forts, and territory. Whatever cavalry are required to be stationed for garrisoning forts and fortified places, are to be placed in them by you; and he will place whatever infantry are requisite. In this manner the forts are to be garrisoned. The sum, however, payable for the present year, is fixed at seven lacks, which is to be paid to the government as above; according to what is written, having brought affairs to a conclusion, by performing the service of the Swamee (the Raja), your conduct will be approved, and let the end be accomplished according to what is written. What occasion is there for writing much? dependance is wholly placed in you by Swamee. You are wise.

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[1] Blank in the Mahratta paper, but supposed to be "the Mookh Purdhan" (Bajee Rao).

tacked Bajee Rao, crossed the Godavery in defiance of the Mahratta army, and moved in the direction of Ahmednugur, plundering the villages in his route.* The Peishwa, being joined by A.D. 1740. Chimnajee Appa, with a body of fresh troops, principally Concan infantry, repeatedly attacked the Moghuls, and Nasir Jung was at length compelled to retire towards the Godavery; but after several months, the Mahrattas, tired of the unprofitable war, gladly entered on terms of accommodation, and a treaty was concluded at Moongy Pyetun, by which both parties pledged themselves to maintain peace, and mutually to refrain from plundering in the Deccan.† Hindia and Kirkoun, districts on the banks of the Nerbuddah, were conferred on Bajee Rao in Jagheer‡, and the

* The respectable author of the Khuzaneh Amirah, was not aware of the junction of these troops. Shah Nuwaz Khan, author of the Muasir Ool Oomrah, was probably present during the service; but he does not, in his memoirs of Nasir Jung, mention the strength of the army, with which he crossed the Godavery. Nasir Jung appears to have been accompanied by the whole of his father's park of artillery, which may have been sent back from Malwa; and Chimnajee Appa, in an original letter, states his army at thirty thousand cavalry, twenty thousand infantry, one hundred and fifty guns, three hundred swivels and jingals (or wall pieces), mounted on camels, and three hundred rocket camels. Allowing him to have greatly over estimated them, as enemies, there was still too large a force to authorize, as a general, such a venture on the part of Bajee Rao.

† Original letter from Chimnajee Appa. Mahratta MSS. Nasir Jung's army did not pass Ahmednugur. Sir J. Malcolm is under a mistake, in supposing that Nasir Jung burnt Poona.

‡ Khuzaneh Amirah, Hudeequ-i-alum. Mahratta MSS. Chimnajee Appa mentions, that some Jagheer districts towards

Peishwa, without visiting Poona or Satara, in great vexation, amounting almost to despair *, set off with his army towards Hindoostan. Chimnajee Appa was called to support Ballajee Bajee Rao, the Peishwa's son, engaged in hostilities in the Concan.

Sumbhajee Angria, still intent on recovering Kolabah from his half-brother, Mannajee, taking advantage of the absence of so large a body of troops, had again attacked Mannajee's districts, and having rapidly taken Choule, Alybagh, Thull, and Sagurgurh, laid siege to Kolabah, and cut off the garrison from fresh water. Mannajee applied to Ballajee Bajee Rao, who was with the Raja in the neighbourhood of Satara. Five hundred men were accordingly sent to support the garrison, and an express despatched to Chimnajee Appa for instructions. Chimnajee had ordered his nephew to repair to Kolabah in person, and applied to the governor in council at Bombay, (with whom he had concluded a treaty, and maintained a friendly intercourse since his late campaign in the Concan,) to support the garrison at Kolabah, and assist them with water, which was immediately done. Ballajee, or as he was then invariably designated,

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the Nerbuddah, formerly promised by Nizam Ool Moolk, were ceded, but their names are not specified by him.

* The following passage occurs in one of his letters to his Mahapooroosh. It is without date, but supposed to be writton at this period of disappointment. "I am involved in difficulties; in debt, and in disappointments, and like a man ready to swallow poison: near the Raja are my enemies, and should I at this time go to Satara, they will put their feet on my breast. I should be thankful if I could meet death.

Nana Sahib, arrived at Kolabah on the fifth day's march, and distinguished himself on his first service, by an attack on a party stationed under the protection of Heera-kot, which he drove into Sumbhajee's camp, killed twenty-five or thirty men, and took Toolajee, the half-brother of Sumbhajee prisoner.* The English had arrived before Nana Sahib; they forced the fleet of Sumbhajee to run down to Severndroog, and compelled him to move his camp from the sea-side, where it was pitched on their arrival, and to throw up an intrenchment to protect his people from a heavy cannonade which they opened from their ships. Sumbhajee applied to the English for permission to retire to Severndroog†, but they refused to listen to his request. He however effected his escape by some means of which the Mahratta letters and manuscripts afford no particulars. Chimnajee Appa having joined Nana Sahib, they were concerting the reduction of Rewadunda, when accounts reached them of the death‡ of Bajee Rao, which happened on the banks

* He was released, but in what manner does not appear.

† Chimnajee Appa's letter.

On the death of a near relation, Hindoos are supposed unclean for ten days, during which, they are to be rigidly abstemious in every respect; this observance is called *sootuck*. Where the relationship is not near, or the death happens at a great distance, one, two, or three days are sufficient. The funeral rites ought to be performed by the nearest relation, and always last ten days, during which, or until the 12th or 13th day, the mourner is considered unclean. After a corpse is burnt or buried, the soul is supposed to hover round the spot for ten days before it wings its flight, to receive judgment from Yem Dhurm. In whatever place a Hindoo hears of the death of a

of the Nerbuddah, on the 28th day of April 1740. On receiving this intelligence, Shunkrajee Narrain was appointed Soobehdar of the Concan, Khundoo- r was left in command of a body of troops, whilst Chimnajee Appa and his nephew, after the usual cremonies of mourning, which occupy ten or twelve days, returned to Poona, and shortly afterwards repaired to Satara.

The death of Bajee Rao is an event in Mahratta annals, which, on his account alone, deserves a pause. In the history of this nation, whose very existence was the confusion of other states, an occasional survey, however brief, of those powers with whom they have transactions, is absolutely necessary. The reader may now, indeed, be less at a loss to comprehend who the Mahrattas were, than European contemporaries of Bajee Rao, who heard of a people unknown a century before*, that had overturned ancient monarchies, who were plundering and burning on the east, and on the west, from the Hooghly to the Bunass, and from Madras to Delhi; yet, from the diffusive nature of their conquests, one may be apt, without some survey of the kind, combined with a retrospective view of their

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parent, he shaves his mustachios, and performs all the rites as if present where the death happened. Bramins observe the anniversary of the death of their relations, and on the new moon, of every month, perform certain ceremonies to their manes.

* Even up to the period of the death of Raja Ram, they were less known among Europeans by the name of Mahrattas, than by that of *the Sivajees*.

past history, to lose sight of the rise and progress of their power, and of their relative importance in India. The Mahomedan wars, from the commencement of the seventeenth century, the plans and conquests of Sivajee, the state of the Deccan after his death, the increase of habitual rapine by the absence of controlling authority, the immense predatory power which was thus prepared, and the means of directing it, placed by the Moghuls in the hands of Shao, had all their share in accumulating the mighty mass of Mahratta force; and when we consider the skill with which Ballajee Wishwanath, and his successor, combined and guided the whole weight of such a tremendous engine of destruction, we cease to feel surprised at the havoc which it spread. Other causes, besides Mahratta progress, had concurred to complete the humiliation of the Timoorian dynasty, and at the period of Bajee Rao's death the vast fabric of the Moghul empire was disjointed or in ruins.

Mohummud Shah had received his liberty and his crown, after both had been subjected to the will of a despot: Delhi had been plundered of upwards of thirty millions of pounds sterling; thousands of its inhabitants had been cruelly massacred; and Cabul, Tatta, and Mooltan, were added by Nadir Shah, to his kingdom of Persia.

Khan Dowran, who was killed in a precipitate attack on the Persian army, had been suceeded as Vizier, by Kummur-ud-deen Khan, the friend of Nizam Ool Moolk, so that the faction of the Toorance Moghuls remained in power, though contrary to the secret wishes of the emperor. Nizam Ool

Moolk, dignified with the title of Umeer Ool Oomrah, remained for some time at Delhi, but having heard that his son Nasir Jung meditated rebellion, he obtained the emperor's sanction for transferring his title of Umeer Ool Oomrah to his eldest son Ghazee-ud-deen, and commenced his march for the Deccan.

Sadut Khan, the Nabob of Oude, died before Nadir Shah left Delhi, and his nephew and son-in-law, Abdool Munsoor Khan Sufdur Jung, was appointed his successor.

The principal Rajpoots, still tributary to the emperor, were those of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, and Oudepoor. Both the last mentioned states had been subjected to partial devastation from the Mahrattas; but the intimate connection subsisting between Jey Sing and Bajee Bao *, prevented such aggressions in the districts of Jeypoor.

The Jhats, originally a tribe of Shooders from the banks of the Indus, had, a short time before the death of Aurungzebe, established themselves in the territory between Agra and Jeypoor. Their chief, Chooramun, attained power during the confusion of the times, and the plunder of the baggage of Aurungzebe's army, is said to have furnished the means of beginning the fortifications of Bhurtpoor. Though situated at such a distance from each other, the Mahratta progress was the cause of the rise of the Jhats, and being afterwards, from the

* Bajee Rao had a secret agent residing with Jey Sing, the name of the envoy (Venkajee Ram) is mentioned in one of Bajee Rao's original letters.

time the Mahrattas crossed the Chumbul, drawn together by mutual interest, a friendly intercourse has, for the most part, subsisted between them.

About this period, the usurper Aliverdy Khan established his authority over the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. From a humble situation in the service of Shujah-ud-deen Khan, nabob of Bengal, Aliverdy had been appointed the nabob's deputy in Bahar. Surfuraz Khan, the heir-apparent to the nabobship, was stationed at Dacca, and Moorshed Koolee Khan, the son-in-law of Shujah-ud-deen, was the deputy governor of Orissa, having for his Dewan, a native of Arabia*, named Meer Hubeeb. On the death of Shujah-ud-deen, Surfuraz Khan was appointed nabob. Aliverdy Khan rebelled, and slew him in battle. He also attacked and drove Moorshed Koolee from Orissa. Meer Hubeeb, the Dewan, a person afterwards so instrumental in Mahratta progress, also fled, but subsequently submitted, and entered the service of the successful insurgent. Aliverdy Khan was acknowledged by the emperor as nabob of Bengal, in consequence of sending a part of the property and jewels of Surfuraz Khan to court.

New states sprung up even in the environs of Delhi; the founder of the principality, afterwards known by the name of Rohillah, had been for some time rising into notice. The person who first

* Mahratta MSS. Gholam Hussein Khan, author of the Seyr Ool Mutuakhereen, calls him a native of Persia, a pedlar from Iran. Meer Hubeeb was intimately known to the Mahrattas, who always designate him as an Arab.

established himself was the son of a Hindoostanee Aheer*, a class of shepherds nearly similar to the Dhungurs of Maharashtra. An Afghan adopted him, when a boy, as his son, and gave him the name of Ali Mohummud Rohillah, which procured for him and all his followers the appellation of Rohillahs. He began his career under the deputy governors of Mooradabad, as commander of a small party of Afghan cavalry. He afterwards got possession of lands on pretence of paying a higher rent for them; and at last, on an attempt to suppress his encroachments, he raised an insurrection and defeated the deputy of the Vizier Kummur-uddeen Khan; in whose Jagheer, situated in the Dooab, little more than a hundred miles to the southward of the capital, all these circumstances happened.

In the Deccan and Carnatic, Nizam Ool Moolk divided the revenue with the Mahrattas; except in the Swuraje, and where territory had been wholly ceded in Jaghéer; the Nizam, in other situations, claiming sovereignty, as the Mahrattas did tribute, over all those states and principalities to the southward of the Toongbuddra, which had submitted to Aurungzebe.

Dost Ally, the nephew of that Sadut Oolla Khan, who in the year 1706 was left by Daood Khan as his deputy in the Carnatic Payeen Ghaut, had, in 1732, succeeded his uncle as nabob, but without obtaining the sanction of Nizam Ool Moolk or the authority of the emperor.

* Mr. Forster says he was a Jath.

The country was breaking into many small states; the nabobs of Kurnoul, Kurpa, and Savanoor, the descendants of governors under the dynasties of Beejapoor and Golcondah, were closely connected with some of the Mahrattas, and had been, for some time, nearly independent. The son-in-law of the Nabob of Arcot, the well known Chunda Sahib, had obtained possession of Trichinopoly on pretence of affording protection to the widow of its late Raja.

The nominal Raja of Tanjore was the grandson of Sivajee's brother Venkajee. Tookajee, the youngest of Venkajee's three sons, was the only one who had issue; and at this period, two sons of Tookajee's remained alive; the one, Syajee, was legitimate, the other Pertaub Sing was the son of a concubine. The government was administered under the name of the former, but the power was held by a Mahomedan officer, who since the time of Tookajee, had been vested with the command of the fort of Tanjore. Syajee, who some years afterwards placed himself under the protection of the English at Madras, was dispossessed by this officer, who raised Pertaub Sing to the head of the government in 1741; but the new Raja would not submit to the control of his minister, and freed himself from a state of tutelage, by assassination.

The English and French, who were so soon to take a part in the contentions and usurpations of the times, still remained on the defensive, unconscious of their own strength, or unwilling to exert it; and although the former, when driven to arms, had manfully asserted their rights on all occasions,

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